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Martialing Latinidad: Latina/os Re-Making the Military from Vietnam to the Global War on Terror, 1969-2003

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Martialing Latinidad: Latina/os Re-Making the Military from Vietnam to the Global War on Terror, 1969-2003

by

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Dedication

For Nhi.

(and Mom & Tanya)

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Del dicho al hecho hay mucho trecho~ Mexican proverb

As the above proverb states, *things are easier said than done*. One can spend years saying they will write a dissertation, but the actual business of completing one is a far more complicated task. That these pages exist is a testament to the outstanding committee members, faculty, friends, and family who have supported me throughout this protracted journey. First and foremost, I owe my largest debts to Janet Davis, who not only offered rigorous feedback on chapter drafts, but who assisted me in innumerable ways throughout this process. Her patience, vigor for the field of American Studies, unrivaled intellectual enthusiasm, and generous mentorship have modeled for me the type of professional I aspire to be and scholarship I hope to practice. Quite simply, I could not have done this without her. Beginning in my second year of graduate school, I had the good fortune of meeting and working with John McKiernan-Gonzalez, a Borderlands historian who introduced me to the field and who has cultivated in me a far deeper appreciation for Mexican-American Studies and US history than I ever thought possible. He always challenged me to see the "big picture," even in the smallest details. I have admired his keen intellect, sly humor, and benefitted from his prescient analyses in ways both large and small. My debts to him are many. Likewise, I gained valuable insight from Dr. McKiernan-Gonzalez's partner and UT-AMS faculty member Cary Cordova, with whom I had the distinct and memorable experience of serving as a Teaching Assistant for in the fall of 2014. Cary taught me many things, but above all, she demonstrated a

valuable critical approach to the synthesis of American Studies and Latina/o Studies that I have sought to utilize in my own scholarship. Cary is part of the phenomenal faculty that comprise the American Studies Department at UT-Austin, a place I have had the privilege of calling "home" for the last decade or so. These faculty members include: Shirley Thompson Marshall, Mark Smith, Jeff Meikle, Julia Mickenberg, Nicole Guidotti-Hernandez, Elizabeth Engelhardt, and Stephen Marshall. Stephen Hoelscher, ever the consummate leader and gentle soul, stepped in to serve on my committee and assure me that I would complete this project. My gratitude to him knows no boundaries.

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UT-Austin is a big place, figuratively and literally. Thus, UT-AMS was not my only "home" here. Almost as soon as I arrived in August 2006, I found my second community in UT's Center for Mexican-American Studies (CMAS). Over the years, CMAS was alternately my refuge and place of critical intellectual development. For this, I would like to thank Anne Martinez, Jose Limon, Michael Cucher, Emilio Zamora, Deborah Paredez, Deborah "Deb" Vargas, Luis Guevara, Alberto Gonzalez, and Natasha Saldana. Among my UT AMS and CMAS colleagues, I offer *mil gracias* to Amanda E. Gray, Jaime Puente, and Jose-Centeno Melendez. I'd also like to acknowledge CMAS affiliate and my scholarly compatriot, Valerie A. Martinez.

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Martialing Latinidad: Latina/os Re-Making the Military from Vietnam to the Global War on Terror, 1969-2003

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Supervisor: Janet M. Davis

This dissertation considers the political and cultural import of Latina/os within the U.S. Armed Forces over the last four decades, from the latter years of the Vietnam War (1969) to the contemporary "Global War on Terror" (GWOT), to examine the productive tensions between U.S. military expansion and liberal racial inclusion. This study examines how the cultural meaning of race, specifically *Latinidad*, accrued meaning for the USAF from 1969-2006. Beginning just before the creation of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973, Department of Defense officials, responding to intense racial turmoil and accusations of discrimination by African Americans, turned their attention towards the emerging Latina/o populace. The USAF began foregrounding Latina/o desires for national belonging, racial inclusion, and social prestige into Spanish language recruitment materials and national promotional campaigns presenting the Armed Forces as a desirable site of upward mobility, cultural recognition, and enfranchised citizenship. More broadly, I suggest that centering the racial, ethnic, and juridical identity of Latina/o participants in the military offers productive ways of interrogating the project of U.S. empire and global military hegemony after 1973. *Martialing Latinidad* employs multi-archival research methodologies, moving between congressional hearings, oral histories, and recently de-

classified records in military archives. *Martialing Latinidad* argues that military authorities demonstrated a surprising interest in various Latina/o social movements, turning programmatic statements by the UFW, the Young Lords, MAYO, and land grant movements into the basis of new syllabi and ethnic studies programming for officers and NCO's. Focusing on research reports, government studies, memos, Congressional hearings, personal and official correspondence, military periodicals, and military authored race relations training guides/ teaching syllabi demonstrate the vast transformation of military policies towards Latina/os from ancillary figures to a central role in public discussion of the future of military recruitment under the AVF. *Martialing Latinidad* argues for the prominent place of US military recruitment efforts in establishing the emerging visibility of Latina/os as a pan-ethnic political formation.

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INTRODUCTION

Three young men walked over the terraced paths of a beautiful garden one night. Only it was not really a garden. They had been disturbed from their eternal sleep, and wandered aimlessly over the hallowed grounds of Arlington National Cemetery.[1] One was—or had been—of Mexican origin, and in life his name had been Felix Longoria. The names of the other two—one a Negro, the other a Japanese-American—are unknown. Names are not really important—it is what they symbolize that counts.[2]

In Gustavo Garcia's, "So Said the Dead," an unpublished short story written less than a year before the Mexican-American civil rights attorney's death in 1964, the spirits of three soldiers mysteriously rise in Arlington National Cemetery "on a cold and clear" November night.[3] Sauntering alone among the gravestones, they are unsure why they "the dead, walk that night." Initially startled by each other's presence, they soon started sharing cigarettes, exchanging biographies, and speculating about their unwelcome reception "at home"--a somber realization prompting Longoria to ask, "Comrades, just what did we die for?" Referencing the plight of Mexican Americans in Texas, Longoria wrote, "In my state, we were looked down upon, considered inferior, pistol whipped,

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[1] The sign near the cemetery's entrance pronounces the sacred nature of the space, instructing visitors accordingly: 'Welcome to Arlington National Cemetery, Our Nation's Most Sacred Shrine. Please Conduct

[2] Felix Longoria, a Mexican-American soldier killed during World War II, was refused burial in his hometown cemetery of Three Rivers, TX owing to a policy of racial segregation. Ensuing efforts to inter Longoria and challenge racial segregation in Texas became known as the "Longoria Affair"-- a hallmark of the Mexican-American civil rights movement. Gus Garcia served as legal counsel to the Longoria family. See Patrick J. Carroll, *Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism.* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2003).

[3] Note: Día de Los Muertos and All Saints Day take place in November; The idea that fallen soldiers wander between two worlds was popular in Europe in the aftermath of World War I. See George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1990); Likewise, war ghost narratives proliferated in France after World War I. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On the popularity of Civil War ghost stories featuring dead soldiers, see Nancy Roberts, *Civil War Ghost Stories and legends* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992).

forced to migrate to other states to look for stoop-labor, segregated in schools…"Reflecting on the U.S.'s enslavement of African-Americans, the "Negro soldier" observed, "we were not considered human beings at all. We were just chattel—like pigs or dogs—or stoves or furniture or chairs." The Japanese-American soldier then exclaimed, "Listen to me, G.I.'s! Though my people were industrious and paid their debts, they were despised out there in the West where most of us lived. Comrades, I died, along with my brethren…to prove a point: That we were Americans and could die like Americans."[4]

Like most apparitions, the spectral protagonists of "So Said the Dead," are restless. Their souls ill at ease, Longoria and his compatriots awaken, presumably summoned by unresolved grief over the injustice of their demise; a lingering trauma presides over their battlefield sacrifices made on behalf of a nation that in life denied them equality, but in death, configured them as "ultimate expressions of national belonging."[5] Ambling between unbroken rows of identical headstones that sprawl for miles—a visual index of the immensity of US warfare--Longoria and his companions sought a philosophical reconciliation: *What did they die for?* As the story implied, this trinity of errant spirits were fallen World War II combatants whose fatalities, paradoxically, were incurred during the US's global campaign to promote democracy abroad. Crossing the threshold separating the living world from the dead, Garcia's fictional spirits, "import a charged strangeness into the place or sphere" they are

[4] Gus Garcia, "So Said the Dead." N.D. Box 1, Folder 3. Gustavo C. (Gus) Garcia Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.

[5] Kristin Ann Hass, *Sacrificing Soldiers on the National Mall* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 19-20.

haunting, "unsettling the propriety…that delimits the zone of activity or knowledge."[6] Garcia, an advocate for racial liberalism, called in a troubling vision of racial death on the eve of formal equality—the 1964 Voting Rights Act.

Ostensibly having died for US values of equality, individual dignity, opportunity, and freedom, Longoria and company's tormented presence unsettles, disrupts, and troubles Arlington National Cemetery's solemn stature as the "nation's most sacred shrine."[7] The cemetery derives its eminent, indeed sacrosanct stake in the national imaginary because it serves as the final resting place for fallen soldiers. As embodied symbols of the nation's ideals, soldiers' capacity for self-sacrifice and willingness to jeopardize their mortality offer reassurance to the nation's subjects of their core beliefs. As Benedict Anderson observes, "dying for one's country assumes...a moral grandeur" an act of sacrifice revered for its "purity."[8] Indeed, soldiers are reminders of a "deep horizontal comradeship" underwriting the imagined community of the nation-state.[9] But

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[6] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 63.

[7] Formerly a plantation built by slave labor, the landscape that would become Arlington National Cemetery was formally demarcated in 1864. Micki McElya, *The Politics of Mourning: Death and Honor in Arlington National Cemetery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); see also Robert M. Poole, *On Hallowed Ground: The Story of Arlington National Cemetery* (New York, NY: Walker & Company, 2010); For an overview of American commemorative practices see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); In her work on death, the Civil War and implementation of a national cemetery system, Drew Gilpin Faust argues that "the war's staggering human cost demanded a new sense of national destiny, designed to ensure that lives had been sacrificed for appropriately lofty ends." Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008) 268; For an account of how Arlington National Cemetery's most famous monument, the "Tomb of the Unknown Soldier" traces shifts in memorial practices and politics of care for fallen soldiers, see Sarah Wagner, "The Making and Unmaking of an unknown soldier," *Social Studies of Science* 43, no. 5 (2013).

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (New York & London: Verso, 1983). 7.

[9] "Finally, [the nation] is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately,

when the threesome recounted the historical specificities of their respective ethnic groups, comparatively cataloguing practices of slavery, exploitative labor economies, racial discrimination, and physical brutality, they unanimously indicted facile tropes of American nationalism, contingent on the phantasm of cultural unity materially consecrated in spaces like Arlington. Conjuring their respective pasts, they invoked the violent genealogies of US racial formation, legal exclusion, and socio-political disenfranchisement constitutive of their status as second-class citizens. Discounted as racial "Others," perpetual foreigners, and undesirable subjects residing outside the boundaries of normative citizenship, the ghosts' insistent demands to be viewed "as Americans" subtends their steep cost of internment. [10]

Garcia did not live to see passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prohibiting *de jure* discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origins, just one month later. The renowned civil rights advocate was found dead on a park bench in San Antonio, TX.[11] But if this legislation marked an apogee in the domestic narrative of racial equality, within the year, another US war, waged in the name of preserving democracy and once again, reliant on the martial labor of racial minorities, accelerated the fault lines in easily contained visions of racial justice and enfranchised citizenship. The themes of

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it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as to be willing to die for such limited imaginings." Anderson, *Imagined*, 5-7.

[10] For a tripartite analysis of US racial groups (Latina/os, African-Americans, and Asian Americans) exploring how regional trajectories informed US race relations and uneven terms of citizenship, see Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

[11] UPI, "Latins' Defender, Gus Garcia, Dies," *Dallas Morning News* (Dallas, TX), June 5, 1964, 20.

corporeal expendability, symbolic inclusion and physical exclusion, patriotic allegiance and ideological ambivalence enunciated by "So Said the Dead" anchor the broader concepts of race and martial identity I explore in this dissertation. Longoria's burial in America's national cemetery traditionally signaled a flashpoint in the longer arc of Mexican-American civil rights, or a triumphant end point attesting to the promise of military service for overcoming racial exclusion, this dissertation proceeds chronologically and philosophically from Longoria's afterlife: the unresolved contradictions of race, military service, and asymmetrical terms of belonging highlighted in the crucible of one war, succeeded by and entangled in the next. As American Studies scholar Amy Kaplan reminds us, "Wars continue each other ... Wars generate and accumulate symbolic value by reenacting, reinterpreting, and transporting the cultural meaning of prior wars."[12] Rather than political equality following in Longoria's wake, Martialing Latinidad argues that the status of Latina/os in the military represented the promise of racial democracy in the laboratory of equality in the AVF.

I seek to examine the place of Latina/os within broader regimes of twentieth century US war-making. I consider how the cultural meaning of race, specifically *Latinidad*, accrued significance for the US Armed Forces between the years 1969-2006, the same decades witness to the dramatic demographic, political, and social ascension of the US Latina/o populace.[13] *Martialing Latinidad* foregrounds the racial and ethnic

[12] Amy Kaplan, "Black and Blue on San Juan Hill" in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, eds. Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1993) 219.
[13] Michel Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (New York: Beacon Press, 1997).xix.

identity of Latina/o service members because these modalities offer productive ways of interrogating the larger project of post-1945 U.S. empire and global military hegemony. As a populace, US Latina/os' genesis lay rooted in the violent practices of nineteenth century U.S colonial-imperial domination of Latin America, the Caribbean, and US Southwest; historical foundations underwriting their subsequent displacement and ethno-racial subordination within the US.[14] Thus, a particular tension pervades the logic of US Latina/o military service, in that a group so often historically subject to military intervention, control, and coercion, are simultaneously tasked with replicating such practices in the name of advancing US hemispheric and global ambitions. Implicitly, this work joins more recent scholarship on post-1965 histories of Latina/o community formation in the US, a period witness to the dramatic demographic, political, and social ascension of the US Latina/o populace. This dissertation investigates how the raced, classed, and cultural identities of Latina/os enter into the post-Vietnam managerial discourse and national imaginings of the state vis-à-vis the US armed forces.

RACE & MARTIAL CITIZENSHIP

Since the Revolutionary era, the US military has relied upon non-white service men and women to conduct its wars, even as those same actors were denied equal citizenship rights on the basis of their non-white status.[15] Thus, the US military has been

[14] Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "The Latino Crucible: Its Origins in 19th-Century Wars, Revolutions, and Empire," *American Latino Theme Study*, accessed August 5, 2016 <https://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/latino/latinothemestudy/pdfs/Empires_web_final.pdf.>

[15] On the symbolic importance of black service-members and their ideological impact on white Union soldiers, see Chandra Manning, *What This Cruel War Was Over: Soldiers, Slavery, and the Civil War* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

a critical ideological and material site by which US racial minorities, as well as sexual and gender minorities, have staked their claims for equal rights.[16] In his diary, World War I Mexican-American veteran José de la Luz Sáenz explicated how participation by Mexican-American soldiers in the Great War could serve to inspire "respect, dignity and equal rights at home" for Mexican-origin communities.[17] Calling attention to the hypocrisy of racial violence enacted against returning World War I African-American soldiers, in May 1918, W.E.B. Dubois proclaimed "We return from the slavery of uniform which the world's madness demanded us to don to the freedom of civil garb.…We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting!"[18] DuBois's edict anticipated the launch of the "Double V" campaign during the Second World War, when

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[16] Feminist historian Claire Snyder argues that the corollary between military service and citizenship in 18th and early 19th century Western democracies was so entrenched such that the "citizen-soldier" became a "conceptual cornerstone of the nation-state." Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Rowan& Littlefield, 1999); According to Francine D' Amico, the model of martial citizenship "suggests that *real* citizens are soldiers, and, conversely, that only soldiers are *real* citizens." Francine D'Amico, "Citizen-Soldier? Class, Race, Gender, Sexuality in the US Military," in *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence, & Resistance*, ed. Susie Jacobs, Ruth Jacobsen, and Jennifer Marchbank (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2000), 105. For a history of how sexual minorities have attempted to attain equal rights on the basis of martial service, see Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality & Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton, 2009).

[17] Emilio Zamora, ed., *The World War I diary of José de la Luz Sáenz* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M, 2014), 10. Sáenz's diary appeared nearly a decade after US acquisition of Puerto Rico in 1898, when the extension of citizenship rights to non-white, colonial "alien races" took center stage in US politics and jurisprudence. In particular, the 1900 Foraker Act officially established a colonial government, setting the stage for US governance of Puerto Rico. See Edgardo Melendez, "Citizenship and the Alien Exclusion in the Insular Cases: Puerto Ricans in the Periphery of American Empire," *Centro Journal* XXV, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 109-110.

[18] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Crisis* (New York, NY), May 1919, 19. 10. DuBois publically backed US efforts in World War II. After being contacted by the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942, DuBois offered his support to the OWI and later participated in "Victory through Unity" tours, speaking alongside veteran civil rights activist A. Phillip Randolph. See Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999).

editors of the nation's largest African-American newspaper, *The Pittsburgh Courier,* demanded victory over the forces of domestic racism, alongside "victory over our enemies on the battlefields abroad."[19] Likewise, World War II had profound civil rights implications for the ethnic Mexican community and other Latina/o groups such as Puerto Ricans and Cubans who enlisted in the military in record numbers, despite some being forced to serve in racially segregated units.[20] Out of a population of nearly 2.7 million, as many as 500,000 immigrant and U.S. born ethnic Mexicans were engaged in active-duty military service.[21] Military duty, as well as laboring in defense plants and selling war bonds (as many ethnic Mexican women did), fostered the integration of the largely first generation Mexican-American youth into the economic and social mainstream. According to Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, the significance of WWII for Mexican-Americans, "was that it would be the first time that they were participating fully in mainstream society, even working alongside Anglos as equals."[22] Paradoxically, this participation followed on the heels of nearly two decades of hardening racial and social boundaries between Mexican-Americans and Anglos. The massive migration of Mexican nationals into the U.S. Southwest during the 1920's, coupled with their concentration in low-wage agricultural production, dramatically racialized the ethnic Mexican community

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[19] Quoted in John Mortan Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, Javonovich, 1976), 208.

[20] On this point, see Silvia Alvarez Curbelo, "The Color of War: Puerto Rican Soldiers and Discrimination during World War II " in Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez and Emilio Zamora, eds., *Beyond the Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2009), 110-124.

[21] Manuel Gonzalez. *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999). 162.

[22] Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez. Ed. *Mexican-Americans in World War II*. Introduction. xi.

leading to discriminatory legal policies and public segregation including schools, parks, theatres, neighborhoods, community centers, cemeteries, and even barbershops.[23]

However, the large numbers of Mexican American men and women in uniform and related defense industries, did not easily mitigate both systemic and isolated strains of anti-Mexican racism, including the near fatal, racially motivated beating of Mexican American G.I. Benigno Aguirre in September 1941 or a July 1941 incident in Lockhart, Texas during which "Spanish" people were told to "leave the block" and barred from participating in the town's Independence Day festivities, because as an American celebration, it was "for white people only."[24] Following their tours of service, many returning veterans used their platform as citizen-soldiers to leverage a powerful critique against entrenched racial discrimination directed at Mexican-Americans and other Latina/os. Organizations such as the League for United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the G.I. Forum rhetorically coupled narratives of wartime experience and patriotic sacrifice with demands for full and inclusive citizenship.

The post-war logic of democratic-racial liberalism, while facilitating the rise of a Mexican-American middle-class, did not fundamentally change the endemic poverty of the Southwest region, especially when accounting for persistent structural racism and the continued migration of Mexican laborers into California, Texas, Arizona, and even some

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[23] Nearly 1.5 million Mexican immigrants—approximately 10% of Mexico's population—migrated to the U.S. between 1900 and 1930. George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican-American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles*, *1900-1945* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). 18.

[24] See David Montejano,"The Beating of Private Aguirre: A Story about West Texas during WWII." *Mexican-Americans in World War II.* Ed. Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez. (Austin: University of Texas, 2005) 41- 66. Regarding the Lockhart incident, see Oropeza, *Raza Si, Guerra No!,* 13-14.

parts of the mid-West.[25] This poverty was especially contradictory given post-war economic affluence, characterized by unprecedented levels of consumer spending and the development of post-war industries in aviation, chemicals, and electronics.

By 1960, the median income of a Mexican American family was only 62 percent of the median income of a family in the general population.[26] Moreover, according to U.S. Census Bureau reports, "Spanish surnamed people" were much poorer than the general U.S. population, including, African-Americans, were overall less educated, and more likely to live in poor housing conditions.[27] It is this younger constituency of Mexican-Americans and Latina/os that comprise my study of the late 1960's onward.

The popular appeal of race, rights, and wartime service reached its official zenith in 1948, when President Harry Truman signed Executive Order 9981, banning racial segregation in the US armed forces. To civil rights leaders, the act constituted a major advancement in the generations long battle for equal rights. Indeed, both academic and social studies frequently cite Truman's de-segregation of the Armed Forces as evidence of the military's commitment to racial equality, placing it at the vanguard of civil rights ahead of other U.S. institutions.[28] But a number of scholars have since re-evaluated this

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[25] On this point, see Emilio Zamora. *Claiming Rights and Righting Wrongs in Texas: Mexican Workers and Job Politics During World War II.* (College Station: Texas A&M University, 2009).

[26] George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi (eds) *America: A Narrative History*. (New York: W& W Norton & Company, 1999). 1564.

[27] Oropeza, *Raza Si, Guerra No,* 51.

[28] The vast body of literature examining race and the U.S. military focuses on either race-relations between African Americans and whites or the desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces. Bernard McNalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (London, UK: Free Press, 1986); Sherie Mershon and Steven Schlossman, *Foxholes and Colorlines: Desegregating the U.S. Armed Forces* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, 2002); Gerald Astor, *The right to fight: a history of African Americans in the military* (Novato, CA: Presidio, 1998); Gail Lumet, *American Patriots : The Story of*

abbreviated narrative of civil rights gains, instead foregrounding the international political and cultural demands of the Cold War as the specific pretext for implementing such legislation.[29] In point of fact, African-Americans continued to serve in racially segregated units on the frontlines and in military bases throughout the Korean War (1950-1953).[30] As crucial as this scholarship has been for conceptually re-assessing easy corollaries between race and martial citizenship, too often they fall short of directly addressing the impact of subsequent conflicts abroad (ie Vietnam) and their domestic impact on the military's conceptions of race and soldiering.

The trajectory of U.S. race relations in the Vietnam-era that serves as the chronological starting point for this dissertation was determined in the years following World War II. As sociologist Howard Winant observed, this period constituted a "racial break" when the governing philosophy of white supremacy came to a permanent and spectacular end, disabled by a "global accumulation of sociopolitical forces."[31] After 1945, powerful currents of anti-colonial sentiment swept through the Third World, mounting trenchant critiques against the system of Euro-Western domination that had geographically indexed, mapped, and organized the globe for four centuries. In clashing for the allegiance of the "darker nations of the world" –Africa, Asia, and Latin America—the U.S. and Soviet Union, embroiled in the Cold War, were ideologically

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Blacks in the Military from the Revolution to Desert Storm (New York, NY: Random House, 2001).

[29] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anti-Colonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

[30] Kimberley L. Phillips, *War! What is it Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles & the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012),152-187.

[31] Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy since World War II* (New York Basic Books, 2001). P. 141.

bound to a politics of anti-racism. According to literary critic Jodi Melamed, the continued formalization of anti-racist doctrine within practices of U.S. governmentality, characterizes one of several "race liberal orders" emerging in the aftermath of World War II.[32] Emphasizing racial 'inclusion,' this new social formation required accounting for and accommodating non-white subjects whose very 'exclusion' was historically central to white supremacy-based systems of power in the U.S.

"A DECADE OF NIGHTMARES" [33]

In recent years, historians have demanded greater scholarly attention towards the 1970s focusing less on nostalgia for the era's astonishing flourish of cultural production familiar to contemporary generations through disco, shag carpeting, bellbottoms, polyester suits, pet rocks, Donnie and Marie, and *Star Wars*. Often caricatured for a garish excess and seeming insouciance, the seventies are depicted as a quiescent decade during which "nothing really happened." On the contrary, as scholars have argued this period accounts for transformative changes that shaped modern systems of capitalism and political organization far more than its frenetic, romanticized predecessor.[34] Derided as a "kidney stone of a decade" in a Doonesbury comic strip from 1980, the painful, tragic, and aching legacy of the 1970's was marked by two contradictory, yet powerful undercurrents

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[32] Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011)

[33] I am consciously referencing Phillip Jenkins's work on the pervasive currents of cultural anxiety or "nightmares" marking the years between 1975-1980. Phillip Jenkins, *Decade of Nightmares: The End of the Sixties and the Making of Eighties America* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

[34] Beth Bailey and David Farber, eds., *America in the Seventies* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2004); Andreas Killen, *1973 Nervous Breakdown: Watergate, Warhol, and the Birth of Post-Sixties America* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2006); Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Da Capo Press, New York, NY).2001.

throughout American society: on the one hand, an impulse for racial inclusion fostered by federal and state initiatives, and on the other, the emerging political philosophy of neoliberalism with its emphasis on free-market egalitarianism stressing individuality, privatization, and self-affirmation.[35] Of the 1970's zeitgeist, one could say it was a period convulsing against the limitations of an ambitious agenda, its hopefulness tempered by shifting global, political, and economic concerns. As Jefferson Cowie aptly notes, the seventies bracketed the "post-scarcity politics" of 1960's prosperity and confidence, "without post-scarcity conditions."[36]

The year 1969 marked a pivotal one for the US military; one of the darkest chapters in its recent history known as the "time of troubles," the late 1960s and early 1970s were difficult for the armed services who were facing not only defeat in Vietnam, but political and cultural implosion from within. In January, Melvin R. Laird, an eight-term U.S. Congressman from Wisconsin succeeded Clark Clifford as Secretary of Defense. A longtime Nixon associate, Laird's appointment would have profound implications for military organizational structure. In April, US troop strength in South Vietnam peaked at 540,000. By July and August, endemic racial violence swept across military bases in Germany, Southeast Asia, Canada, and throughout the US, further eroding public support for the armed forces, whilst intensifying anti-war feelings anew. The dissident tenor of the counterculture and anti-war movement gave rise to a vibrant GI resistance movement peaking between 1970-1972. Throughout 1971, over 60,000

[35] Thomas Borstelmann, *The 1970s: A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
[36] Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: the 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2010) 10.

soldiers attended actors Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland's "FTA" vaudeville show conducted outside military bases and GI coffeehouses. Rebuking the pro-military stance of USO tours, "FTA" drew its moniker from the Army recruiting slogan, "Fun, Travel and Adventure", instead standing for "Free the Army", "Free the Americans", and in its most biting political form, "Fuck the Army." An underground press of 300 G.I. newspapers including *We Got the brASS*, *Liberated Barracks*, and *All Hands Sink the Ship* published contemptuous indictments of the Armed Forces. Though it received little media attention, the three day Winter Soldier hearings of 1971 in which returning veterans recounted atrocities committed during war, marked a watershed moment in US veteran history.

Although 1975, the period I explore in chapter three, marked the beginning of the country's bicentennial celebrations, there was little to revel in nationally: President Richard Nixon's resignation following the Watergate scandal a year earlier was trailed by two separate assassination attempts of President Gerald R. Ford. In April, South Vietnam came under control of the communist Northern National Liberation Front (NLF) unifying the country as U.S. military forces retreated, ending a bitterly contested war that unhinged certainty in American global supremacy. Expenses related to the U.S. war in Vietnam and social welfare programs under the Johnson administration combined to increase federal deficits, expansion of the U.S. money supply, and price inflation. Accordingly, the economic recession that began in 1973 with an oil embargo by members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), intensified as the annual inflation rate rose to nearly

13% by the end of 1975.[37] Unemployment rates for whites hit a historic high of 8%, while for African Americans and Latinos they were almost double at 15% and 13% respectively.[38] A massive labor strike by Pennsylvania state employees in June typified the growing labor unrest among American workers, a movement marked by work stoppages, demonstrations, and mass mobilizations across the country. For many whites, perceptions of "encroachment" by Great Society reforms, especially court-mandated busing plans in public schools systems, provoked intense political and cultural backlash. President Richard Nixon's "Silent Majority," an amalgamation of working and middle-class whites, expressed support for tax cuts, arguing public welfare programs primarily benefitting racial minorities unfairly came at their expense. Further, the 1975 publication of Donald Covington's *Soldiers in Revolt* not so much protested the war in Vietnam, as much as it did critique core values of American foreign policy, U.S. global standing, and histories of American military intervention.[39]

Indeed, the years 1969-1975 marked the height of internal tumult, threatening to unhinge the military as it stood on a precipice: the enduring troubles of Vietnam, the toxic legacy of the draft which had compelled so many underprivileged groups into its ranks, and the impending future of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). All of these factors

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[37] George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*. (W.W. Norton & Company, New York, NY 1999). 1581.

[38] Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

[39] Fonda and Sutherland were joined by singers Holly Near and Lenn Chandler, as well as comedian Paul Mooney. The FTA show toured in the U.S., Philippines, and Guam throughout 1971 and was later made into a short documentary film with limited release in 1972. Barbara L. Tischler, "Anti-War Activism and Emerging Feminism in the late 1960's: the Times they were A'Changing." *Against the Current,* April 30, 2000. 24*;* see also *Sir! No Sir!*, dir, David Zeiger, Displaced Films, 2005.

came to bear on the way the military would revise itself in the decade to come and serve as the backdrop for the policy developments I investigate throughout each chapter.

LATINIDAD & "SOLDADOS AMERICANOS"

Scholars of the Vietnam War have consistently called attention to the uneven racial and class dimensions of the armed forces during that conflict.[40] Within this vast corpus of scholarship, accounts of Latina/os in the Vietnam War have served to disrupt the dominant black-white racial dyad traditionally informing most analyses of race relations and militarism during the Vietnam-era. Writings such as Charley Trujillo's *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam* (1990), Jorge Mariscal's *Aztlán and Vietnam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (1999), Lea Ybarra's *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War* (2004) and Lorena Oropeza***'s*** *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!:Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Vietnam War Era* (2005), have lent critical insight into the complex racialized experiences of Mexican-origin/Chicano soldiers and their communities during the Vietnam-era. Primarily social histories, based on individual veteran testimonies and Chicana/o authored literary texts, these scholarly projects have proved pivotal to the historical recovery of Chicana/o Vietnam-era wartime service.[41]

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[40] Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); James Westheider, *The Vietnam War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007); On African-American wartime service in Vietnam, see Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War* (New York, NY: Random House, 1984); Isaac Hampton II, *The Black Officer Corps: A History of Black Military Advancement from Integration Through Vietnam* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2013); on Native Americans in Vietnam, see Al Carroll, *Dog Tags and Medicine Bags: American Indian Veterans from Colonial Times to the Second Iraq War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 147-172.

[41] Charley Trujillo, *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam* (San Jose, CA: Chusma House, 1990); Jorge Mariscal, *Aztlan and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (Los Angeles, CA:

Yet my work departs from this scholarship in two ways. First, as their respective titles suggest, these texts are principally concerned with chronicling the affairs of Mexican-origin/ Chicana/o subjects. By contrast, my analysis takes into consideration Vietnam War participation by other national-origin Latina/o groups, principally Puerto Ricans, to widen the scope of Latina/o identity, US military service, and empire.[42] Second, I foreground the role of state actors, namely federal officials and military policy-makers, in discursively shaping, articulating, and theorizing a pan-ethnic notion of *Latinidad.*

According to Agustin Lao-Montes, "*Latinidad* is both a category deployed within a variety of dominant spaces and institutions…to label populations as well as a form of self-identification used by individuals, movements, and organizations to articulate a sense of community."[43] At its most basic level, *Latinidad,* means a shared identity. In the chapters that follow, I investigate how objectives by military officials to harness Latina/o manpower interfaced with the complexity of US Latina/o cultural identities. By examining efforts by military policy-makers to accurately label Latina/os, *Martialing*

University of California Press, 1999); Leah Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004); Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

[42] I am defining Latina/os as individuals tracing their national origins to the Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and South America. I readily acknowledge that this designation flattens the diverse, heterogeneous histories of migration, racialization, economic marginalization, residency, etc. that distinguishes these populations from one another. For the most part and owing to their numerical dominance as the largest U.S. Latino group, this project concentrates on the ethnic Mexican population in the U.S. Southwest. I use the term "Latinos" to encompass this group and explicitly underscore how dominant discourse (ie U.S. media, political leaders, military officials, etc) deploy this term when making national generalizations, without respect to racial, class, gender, and regional differences.

[43] Agustín Laó-Montes, "Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York City," in *Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York*, eds.,Agustín Laó-Montes and Arlene Davila (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), 7-8.

Latinidad mines the tensions they encountered when it came to effectively homogenizing and addressing disparate issues of race, national-origin, and Spanish-language adherence. Because most scholarly studies of *Latinidad* foreground its circulation and commodification in the domains of cultural production, media consumption, entertainment, and mainstream journalism, my dissertation represents an intervention in so far as it charts the early trajectory of *Latinidad* as consolidated in federal policy.[44] By examining research reports, government studies, memos, Congressional hearings, personal and official correspondence, military periodicals, and military authored race relations training guides/ teaching syllabi, this project contributes to on-going efforts to understand the institutional history of *Latinidad*. For example, in chapter three, I look closely at policy debates over representative terminology, including conflicts over the application of the term "Hispanic" versus "Latina/o" within military policy. In this respect, my work joins and builds on scholarship by Cristina Beltran, Suzanne Oboler, G. Cristina Mora, and Clara E. Rodriguez accounting for the utility of *Latinidad* as a discursive political formation.[45]

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[44] On Latinidad in popular culture see Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003); Arlene Davila, *Latinos, Inc: The Making and Marketing of a People* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California, 2001; Marta Caminero-Santangelo, *On Latinidad: U.S. Latino Literature and the Construction of Ethnicity* (Miami, FL: University of Florida, 2009); On Latinidad in performance studies, see Deborah Paredez, *Selenidad: Selena, Latinos, and the Performance of Memory* (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

[45] Cristina Beltran, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity* (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010); Suzanne Oboler, *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (re)Presentation in the United States* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); G. Christina Mora, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Clara E. Rodriguez, *Changing Race: Latinos, The Census, and The History of Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

"MARTIALING/MARSHALING"

In this dissertation, I use the conceptual framework of "martialing" to trace how from the period 1970 to the present, the US military increasingly looked to and deliberately invoked (ie *martialed*) Latina/o ethno-racial and cultural difference in tandem with its broader shift towards an ethos of neoliberal multiculturalism. Whereas the U.S. military long worked to assimilate and integrate minority difference under the rubric of mid-twentieth century racial liberalism—the philosophy of extending equal rights to racial minorities—by the early 1970s, military officials began embracing a nascent form of neoliberal multiculturalism, which in effect, incorporates racial difference as a good or commodity to be celebrated, utilized, and deployed, but which simultaneously disavows the systemic legal, economic, and political structures that "produce racially unequal outcomes."[46]

"Martialing" draws its etymological origin from the concept of "martial races," a mid-nineteenth century colonial trope employed by the British Imperial Army, designating certain ethnic groups as having a natural inclination for combat.[47] According to this doctrine, particular ethnic groups like Nepalese Gurkhas and Punjabi Sikhs, were assumed to possess the necessary "spirit" for military service—inherent racial and cultural attributes that made them uniquely suited for war and/or combat, thus enabling the exercise of British colonial rule and administration. Since widely discredited as a biologically and culturally determinist perspective implicit to colonial logics of power,

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[46] Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing*, 140.

[47] This doctrine was first adopted in British India after the Sapoy Mutiny of 1857. Daniel Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1985).

within civil-military relations, the theory has retained some traction for how it frames the military and its use of conscription as a "successful vehicle for nation-state building in the post-colonial context."[48] In her study of ethnic soldiering, noted feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe explicates how state elites in Britain, the US, and Canada viewed military conscription "an integrative process…a form of mass mobilization that would increase each citizen's affiliation with the political system and his stake in the maintenance of that system."[49] In other words, military service was a key site of instilling national loyalty among those ethno-racial groups on the ideological and legal margins of the nation-state. Enloe further argues, state elites urged ethnic minority groups "to see military service as a vehicle for gaining respect, legitimacy, and protection in the larger social order."[50] My use of "martialing" draws on this body of scholarship to call attention to the US military's attempts, particularly in the domain of recruitment, to strategically utilize or "martial" Latina/o ethno-racial subjectivity. In so doing, I also use the term "martialing" in a semantic register evocative of its homonymic cousin, "marshaling," defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "1) to arrange or assemble (a group of people, especially soldiers) in order 2) Correctly position or arrange 3) guide or direct the movement of."[51] In this way, martialing/marshaling highlights how racial and cultural difference,

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[48] Subhasich Ray, "The Non-martial Origins of the 'Martial Races': Ethnicity & Military Service in Ex-British Colonies," *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 3 (2012). 561; In his work on Chicano soldiering during the Vietnam War, Jorge Mariscal indicts a similarly analogous concept in Mexican nationalist ideology--"warrior patriotism" or the explicit linkages between masculinity and a willingness to fight for and die on behalf of l*a patria* (the nation). Jorge Mariscal, *Aztlan and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 27.

[49] Cynthia Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980), 53.

[50] Enloe, *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security*, 27.

[51] Oxford English Dictionary (OED), s.v. "marshal." Accessed 15 June, 2016. <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/marshal>

particularly that of Latina/os, becomes mobilized and aligned with state apparatuses to render the US military as a uniquely egalitarian space, supposedly exempt from the racial inequities beleaguering civil society.

METHODOLOGY

Noted Haitian anthropologist and historian Michelle-Rolph Trouillot, once queried "If history is merely the story told of those who won, how did they win in the first place?"[52] Trouillot's question served as an impetus for the methodological approaches I employ in this dissertation. As typified by military historians' Charles C. Moskos and John Butler's study *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (1996) the dominant "story" of post-Vietnam military race relations is characterized by optimistic messaging lauding the armed forces as a colorblind, merit based institution that exalts interracial collegiality. Mirroring popular social observations, Moskos and Butler contend the U.S. military, "contradicts the prevailing race paradigm" of the U.S., arguing that it is "unmatched in its level of racial integration."[53]

But if the current prevailing "race paradigm" in the US is one predicated on black-white relations, how should military historians, Latina/o Studies scholars, and American Studies practitioners figure in the place of Latina/os? More importantly, how did the US military configure Latina/os racially, culturally, and ethnically? To answer

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[52] Michel Rolph-Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (New York: Beacon Press, 1997). 6.
[53] Charles C. Moskos and John Butler, *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1997).

this question, in my first three chapters I turn to a range of primary sources to evaluate military race relations policy during the early 1970s, examining many previously overlooked military archives: research reports, government studies, memos, Congressional hearings, personal and official correspondence, military periodicals, and military authored race relations training guides/ teaching syllabi. In so doing, I elucidate how a variety of policy actors, pressure groups, civil rights advocates, families and conservative officials debated, discussed, and developed military policies towards Latina/os during an intensely volatile period of race-relations. The wide-ranging scale of the military debate paralleled and overlapped with the emerging visibility of Latina/os as a pan-ethnic political formation.

To supplement this analysis, I also make use of a broad ensemble of non-military primary texts including oral histories by black and Latina/o service members, plays, and newspaper articles. In my fourth chapter, I shift my attention to a close reading of a U.S. military advertising campaign, the "Yo Soy El Army" initiative, directly targeting Latina/os. Amidst both scholarly and popular preoccupations with the military as a laboratory for racial integration there has been insufficient attention given to the role played by recruitment initiatives. This signals a major scholarly oversight because since the shift to the AVF, the military has increasingly relied on strategic recruiting emphasizing educational opportunities, job skills training, and personal development that I argue, not only reflect the military's transition to a neoliberal based logic and the rise of foreign born parents among Latina/o youth, but also one that directly relies on militarized conceptions of racial identity. In this regard, the "Yo Soy El Army" campaign marks both

the military's adoption of neoliberal multiculturalism, but also the rise of a majority of children with immigrant parents or actual migrant children among Latina/o volunteers to the military.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

In chapter one, "From "Same Mud, Same Blood" to "Not All Green" I underscore the place of racial violence in spurring military policy to address race relations. Specifically, *Martialing Latinidad* adopts a micro-historical approach to analyze the governance crisis facing the draft army. The "Camp Lejeune Incident," a fatal racial encounter between black, Latina/o, and white Marines serves as a starting point for subsequent military policies on race relations that resulted in a Congressional hearing, as well as two military research reports: The Randall Report and Render Report. I used these documents, in addition to oral histories and press accounts, to identify the racialization of Latina/os during the Vietnam-era. My account of the Camp Lejeune incident tracks the crisis that led military officials to look to Latina/o recruitment and training as a way to address deeply entrenched racial divides by making Latina/os and the military a model of racial democracy.

In so doing, I also offer an analysis of nascent pan-Latino/a identity formation engendered by the physical spaces of war. I argue that spaces such as military barracks, cafeterias, combat frontlines, and service clubs, served as sites for provisional pan-Latino identification and mutual recognition.

In chapter two, "Getting *There*": Military Multiculturalism, the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), and the Biggest Minority," I analyze the development, implementation, and infrastructure of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), a mandatory race relations training center established by the USAF in 1970 in response to outbreaks of racial violence. This chapter is principally concerned with discursively deconstructing the military's role in shaping racialized military subjectivity. That is, I examine how military race relations' instructors, influenced by contemporary ethnic nationalist movements and critiques by the Global Left, sought to contain, assuage, and ultimately incorporate (ie politically neutralize) conceptions of ethno-racial identity congruent with its own domestic vision of race and national belonging.

In chapter three, "El Soldado Americano": Latina/os, Racial Arithmetic, & the American Dream" I continue with my analysis of the DRRI and its subsequent role in shaping military policy with regards to addressing racial discrimination against Latina/o military personnel. Further, I explicitly look at the ways military officials confronted the challenges of homogenizing Latina/o military personnel under pan-ethnic terminology. Cognizant that Latina/os represented an emerging and important demographic for the future of the armed forces, military officials conducted several internal studies and research reports, including the 1972 report by the "Task Force on Military Justice" and 1973 "Study of the Spanish Ethnic Soldier." I closely examine both documents to expose how military officials attempted to redress systemic neglect, racial bigotry, and cultural insensitivity (ie English language classification tests) towards Latina/o military personnel. Finally, I situate these efforts to respond to Latina/o military personnel within

the USAF's broader shift towards the All-Volunteer Force in 1973. I argue that given the post-Vietnam tumult of race relations in the US and market-based demands of the AVF, Latina/os constituted an important imaginary cultural proxy for the US national polity—a racially and ethnically diverse group, eager to advance economically and socially, and thus, early avatars for the form of neoliberal citizenship the military would embrace, advance, and promote in later decades.

Finally, in chapter four, "Advertising Patriotism: The "Yo Soy El Army" Campaign, Neoliberal Citizenship, and Strategizing Latinidad" I shift forward in time to the early years of the Global War on Terror, when the US Army utilized a multi-media bilingual-based marketing campaign to appeal to young Latina/os. In this section, I build on earlier chapters by examining how ethnically specific advertising to Latina/os transmitted and/or conveyed notions of racial and ethnic military inclusion. As noted in chapter three, the Army began Spanish language print ads in the late 1970's, beginning with slogans such as "Unete a la gente que está en el Army" (Join the People Who've Joined Army), an early template for how it would market to Latina/os in subsequent decades. If the first three chapters chronologically explicate the military's "encounter" and formal recognition of Latina/o service personnel, this final chapter serves as an ideological bookend, charting how *Latinidad* could serve useful to the military.

CHAPTER ONE:

From "Same Mud, Same Blood" to "Not All Green": Vietnam, Racial Violence, and the Render Report, 1969-1970

When they put us in a room, people from different groups, all in one room, its like a dog and cat in the same room—they're never going to agree.~ Rueben[54]

Introduction

In September 1969, President Richard Nixon received a peculiar gift in the mail. Accompanying a neatly folded single-page letter, lay a U.S. Navy Silver Cross--the U.S.'s second-highest medal for valor bestowed on members of the Armed Forces. Its owner, Guy Gabaldón, a well-known Mexican-American Marine veteran, had been awarded the decoration nine years earlier for combat actions performed during World War II.[55] In his letter, Gabaldón fumed:

> "I was very proud of the Navy Cross as a symbol of my country's regard for my services. I had always hoped things would get better for my people, the Mexican Americans, and for all minorities for that matter. But as far as I can see, under your administration, bigotry is gaining ground. Therefore, since I'm considered a second class citizen by you and your fellow WASPS; and I have been refused a hotel room, because of my ethnic background, in the country that I fought for; and that my people, the Mexicans, are consistently treated in an undignified manner; for these reasons and for so many more, I feel that I no longer desire to have in my possession an award from your CORRUPT, IMMORAL, DECADENT, and BIGOTED government…"[56]

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[54] Video Recording No.381-F-20. "Farmersville, CA: Dos Veteranos, 1968". Motion Picture, Sound, and Video Records Section, Special Media Archives Services Division. Record Group 381; National Archives at College Park, MD.

[55] Gabaldón was originally awarded the Silver Star Medal in 1944, but in November 1960, Secretary of the Navy William B. Franke upgraded Gabaldón's medal to a Silver Cross.

[56] Letter; Guy Gabaldon to Richard Nixon. 28 September 1969. Pre-presidential Papers of Richard M. Nixon, General Correspondence, 1946-1962, Series 320, Box 278, Folder "Gabaldon, Guy." Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA. See also, reprint. "Chicano Vet Returns Medal" *El Grito del Norte*, 15 November 1969. 1.

Gabaldón was certainly not the first, nor the last American service-member to publicly surrender a medal as a register of dissent.[57] By fall 1969, mounting frustration over America's war in Southeast Asia, intensified by recent disclosures of US Army atrocities at Mỹ Lai, propelled dramatic expansion of both the GI resistance and anti-war movements with numerous veterans likewise discarding their service medals.[58] But Gabaldón's gesture represents a distinct entry in the otherwise proverbial tale of Vietnam War era protest culture.[59] By remitting the Navy Cross, a hard-won badge of the nation's "regard for his [my] services" amidst allegations of racism and "second-class" citizenship, Gabaldón's symbolic treason tells a complex story about the failed promises of full democratic citizenship for racial minorities between the end of World War II and the late 1960s when this chapter commences.

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[57] For example, in 1956 a WWII veteran displeased with President Dwight Eisenhower's use of National Guard troops to racially integrate Little Rock high school sent his medal to the president, writing, "I am ashamed I ever wore them." David Nichols, *A Matter of Justice*: *Eisenhower and the Beginning of the Civil Rights Revolution.* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2008) 205; On the significance of medals for valor see Mary Dudziak, *Wartime: An Idea, its history, its consequences* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012). 28.

[58] The most famous and largest demonstration of remitting service medals came on April 18, 1971 when between 600-2,000 veterans from several U.S. wars assembled at the U.S. Capitol in Washington D.C. to protest the Vietnam War. Organized by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) under the moniker "Dewey Canyon III" veterans hurled medals, uniforms, discharge papers, and even a prosthetic leg into a "garbage heap of honor." Andrew Hunt, *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York: NYU Press, 1999). 113-114.

[59] Gabaldón opposed the US war in Vietnam, but did not support anti-war efforts because his eldest son, Guy Jr., also a Marine, was on active duty during the war reasoning that doing so detracted from troop morale. Of anti-war demonstrators, Gabaldón observed, "When my son was fighting I say 'don't tie one hand behind his back…whether right or wrong…back our boys." Guy Gabaldón interview by Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez and Charlie Ericksen, Washington, DC, June 7, 2003. Folder 34, VOCES Oral History Project Archive, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin. 30.

To begin, Guy Louis "Gabby" Gabaldón made for an unlikely radical. Born in New Mexico in 1926, Gabaldón entered lifelong fame as a war hero and avowed patriot after appearing on a June 1957 episode of the NBC program, "This is Your Life" profiling his wartime exploits.[60] At 18, he set a still unmatched military record by single-handedly capturing over 1,000 enemy combatants from the Japanese island of Saipan during the Allied campaign for the Mariana Islands in 1944.[61] Acting alone, Gabaldón spent weeks conducting nightly patrols seeking out enemies then shrewdly bribing them with cigarettes, Lemon soda, and a smattering of Japanese phrases, he eventually coaxed several hundred beleaguered Imperial Army troops, laborers, and frightened civilians into peacefully surrendering. Nicknamed "The Pied Piper of Saipan" by commanding officer Col. John L. Schwabe, Gabaldón humbly told reporters: "I guess it was because I spoke Japanese that I convinced them."[62] Television viewers charmed by Gabaldón's tale likely also found appeal in his distinctly "all-American" background. A self-described "wayward youth" who scraped by on the streets of Depression-era East Los Angeles, at twelve, Gabaldón found refuge with Masato and Sumi Nakano, a sympathetic Issei

[60] Airing weekly, the half-hour show's key gimmick involved surprising an unsuspecting guest or "honoree" whose biography unfolded before live audiences, using friends, family members, co-workers, and other figures to tell the recipient's life story. Edward K. Welch, "This is Your Life, Oscar Howe." *The Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2014.

[61] This is Your Life, "Guy Gabaldón: Marine War Hero," episode YLN251, NBC, June 19, 1957, hosted by Ralph Edwards.

[62] Hedda Hopper, "Hero Shows What Holiday Means" *Los Angeles Times*. 4 July 1960, C6.

couple who ran a small grocery store in neighboring Boyle Heights, who adopted him, and taught him Japanese."[63]

Gabaldón's feat may have impressed postwar audiences, but it was his biography that proved irresistible to Cold War era state officials and cultural producers alike. The "Pied Piper of Saipan's" triumphant, yet sentimental saga of battlefield bravado, interracial accord, and humanitarian compassion neatly replicated the idealized discourse of American race and democracy crafted by US policy-makers as a Cold War cultural imperative. According to historian Mary Dudziak, federal leaders portrayed America's civil rights narrative as a "story of progress, a story of the triumph of good over evil, a story of U.S. moral superiority."[64] As the geopolitical rivalry between the US and Soviet Union deepened, with each superpower vying for the sovereign affiliation of over forty newly non-aligned nations, US policymakers placed their faith in culturally scripted narratives like Gabaldón's, an exemplary ethno-racial minority and exceptional citizen-subject, towards consolidating the ideological ("hearts and minds") and political

[63] Gabaldón was raised alongside the Nakano's five children: Frank, Francis, Lucy, and twins Lane & Lyle. Reflecting on his large surrogate family, Gabaldón noted affectionately, "They taught me Japanese. But mostly, they taught me how to love." With the advent of U.S. entry into World War II, Gabaldón's time with the Nakanos came to an abrupt end. Following President Franklin Roosevelt's issuance of Executive Order 9066, the Nakanos were interned at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in northwest Wyoming. Of their departure in early September 1942, Gabaldón bitterly recalled, "they sent my family to a concentration camp." Within months of their arrival at Heart Mountain, foster brothers, Lyle (Masaya) and Lane (Tastuhiko) volunteered for military service becoming members of the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated combat unit composed entirely of Nisei soldiers. Nicknamed the "Purple Heart Brigade" the 442nd would go on to become one of the most decorated units of World War II. Guy Gabaldon, *East L.A. Marine: The Untold True Story of Guy Gabaldon*, directed by Steven Jay Rubin, Fast Carrier Pictures, 2008. For more on the role of "adoption" in narratives of post-war racial integration and the family unit, see Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 146-147.

[64] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13. See also, Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anti-Colonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

allegiances of the world's "captive peoples"—the formerly colonized inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and Latin America ("the darker nations of the world"). Gabaldón's morally unambiguous tale of do-gooder heroism, American ideologues held, could bear powerful sway in exporting the gospel of Western democratic liberalism, whilst also mitigating the "uneasy dimensions of postwar US race relations."[65] At a time when Jim Crow segregation brutally governed African-American life in the US South, discrimination against Mexican-Americans persisted throughout the Southwest, and US national security ambitions extended militarily to the Asia-Pacific Rim, Gabaldón's non-white identity, transnational pan-Latin-Asian upbringing, and benevolent wartime act supplied a comforting fantasy of domestic racial unity, international fraternity, and benign (*non-imperial*) foreign policy aspirations. In multiple ways, Gabaldón affirmed America's image of itself as a colorblind modern liberal capitalist democracy.[66]

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[65] Thomas Borstelman, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003) 28. For more on the use of multiculturalism and projects of neocolonialism, see also, Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005)

[66] An indispensable symbol of American anti-racism with an extravagant personality to boot, Gabaldón made for a pitch-perfect cinematic protagonist. To this end, in 1960 Allied Artists released *From Hell to Eternity,* a highly fictionalized adaption of his life story, albeit starring television actor Jeffrey Hunter, an Anglo-American, in the title role. Part combat film, part biopic, *Eternity* blended gritty displays of warfare with melodramatic scenes of racial persecution and redemption, earning praise by *The Los Angeles Times* for its sensitive portrayal of "racial amity, inspiration, and dignity." Phillip K Schuer, "War Film Tells it Straight" *Los Angeles Times*, August 7, 1960, F1. *Hell to Eternity*, directed by Phil Karlson, Allied Artists, 1960. Fresh off the heels of the Cuban Revolution, the United States Information Agency (USIA) wasted little time capitalizing on the feel-good parable, or of its leading man's ethnic Mexican heritage. During fall 1961, USIA agents sponsored *Eternity* during an "anti-reds" film drive that toured Mexico and Central America in concert with its massive anti-communism campaign throughout Latin America. An unofficial "cultural ambassador," Gabaldón routinely made public speaking appearances, delivering Spanish-language speeches to Mexican military personnel and "rural dwellers" touting the film's anti-communist message "of equality treatment in the US, and that rewards are not exclusively for top echelon personnel." Belinda L. Rincon, "Media, militarism, and mythologies of the state: The Latino Soldier in WWII films," *Journal of Latina/o Studies* 9, no. 2-3 (July 2011): 296. For more on US sponsored anti-communist propaganda efforts

Of course, by 1969 Gabaldón's views, like those of the generation succeeding him, were not quite so singular. But his trajectory from a symbol of Cold War liberalism's emphasis on multi-racial pluralism to political recusant offers an important allegory for this chapter, tracing the shifting nexus of racial identity, military service, and liberal inclusion during the late Vietnam War-era. Gabaldón's repudiation of his Navy Cross might have struck some, particularly fellow veterans, as a disgraceful, even violent betrayal of his military legacy. But by his logic, the "bigotry" and "undignified manner" of treatment American racial minorities were perpetually subject to, despite the glow of civil rights reforms, constituted the real violation of democratic principles he spent years "fighting for" through bodily sacrifice and later, as a public spokesman for multiracial tolerance. Gabaldón's act, then, offers a productive point of departure for three major themes animating this chapter.

First, if Gabaldón embodied the promises of state sponsored domestic anti-racism promoted through martial citizenship, his disavowal of the Navy Cross over racist treatment and subjugation exposed the limits of military service to ensure equality of treatment. As scholars Ronald Krebs, Cynthia Enloe, Kimberly Phillips, Mario T. Garcia, Al Carroll, and others have amply demonstrated, through much of the twentieth century,

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in Latin America see Seth Fein, "Producing the Cold War in Mexico: The Public Limits of Covert Communication," 2008, in *In from the Cold: Latin America's New Encounter with the Cold War*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spencer (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 173. Ever the consummate patriot, Gabaldón continued his Latin American anti-communist crusade well after completing his time as a USIA spokesperson, going on to found the "Drive Against Communism" (DAC), an LA based organization "formed for the purpose of soliciting the enlistment of former combat veterans of anti-Castro rebel forces." The self-proclaimed president and founder, Gabaldón's mission statement for DAC attested to his profoundly loyal nationalist sentiments: "I live in the best country on God's green earth, and I mean to keep it that way, so help me God." SAC, Los Angeles 100-437548 to Director, FBI, U.S. government memorandum, "Drive Against Communism," September 9, 1961, Box 2, Fldr 4, Phillip Kerby Papers, UCLA Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA.

soldiering functioned as the symbolic hinge upon which ethno-racial, sexual, and gender minorities' accessed real and symbolic membership within the national polity. By rejecting his medal, Gabaldón disrupted the linearity of a liberal rights-based model embraced by conservative post-war civil rights organizations like LULAC, the American GI Forum, and NAACP who long correlated military service with enhanced rights and prospects of first-class citizenship. On the contrary, by looking at discrimination experienced by GI's of color, this chapter foregrounds Gabaldón's critique of American liberalism, thus contesting the military's claim "as the original torchbearer of civil rights."

Second, Gabaldón's transition from identifying as an assimilated "hyphenated American" to self-proclaimed "Mexican" parallels the changing ethno-racial formation and/or politicization of US Latina/os throughout the mid-late 1960's. Prior to 1965, alluding to Hispanic/Latina/os, frequently meant making reference to Mexican origin peoples, the largest Spanish speaking ethnic group in the US. However, beginning in the early 1960s and particularly after passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, the ethno-racial composition of the US Latina/o populace flourished owing to widespread and sustained migration from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central America.[67] The influx of racially ambiguous and/or mixed race Latina/os augured new racial formations, challenging

[67] Tomas Almaguer, "Race, Racialization, and Latino Populations," 2012, in *Racial Formation in the 21st Century*, ed. Laura Pulido, Daniel Martinez Hosang, and Oneka Bennett (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 146;

prevailing US racial paradigms hewed within a black-white binary.[68] At the same time, the evolving heterogeneity of the US "Spanish-speaking" demographic proceeded apace with American foreign policy developments in Vietnam. Dog tags embossed with Latin-origin surnames of "Dimas" and "Lebrón" (Puerto Rican), appeared alongside "Garcia" and "Rodriguez" (Mexican-American), "Núñez" (Dominican), and "Alfaro" (Salvadoran)—material affirmations of the MACV-era military's role as a site of pan-ethnic Latina/o subjectivity. It is one of the central conceits of this chapter that inter-ethnic relations between Mexican-American, Cuban, Caribeño, and Central American GI's, often through the shared idiom of Spanish, fostered broader cultural awareness among GI's of Latin-American descent, in effect cultivating a nascent form of Latinidad that would be of significant interest to the US military in later years. In his study of Puerto Rican soldiers' modes of self-representation during wartime, media scholar Miguel Aviles-Santiago contends the Vietnam War acted as a "contact zone" defined by critical theorist Mary Louise Pratt (2008) as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."[69] Pratt employs "contact zone" in four registers: exploring the intersection of spatially and historically differentiated subjects; frontloading

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[68] Racial formations are defined as "the socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed." Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the 1990's* (New York: Routledge Press, 1994). 55.

[69] Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* (New York: Routledge, 2008).6.

the interactive dimensions of colonial encounters; explicating how subjects are constituted in and through their relationships to one other; and examining asymmetrical power relations and interaction between colonizers and the colonized. Following Pratt and Aviles-Santiago, this chapter situates the Vietnam War as a "diasporic contact zone," where disparate national and geographically distinct ethnic Latina/os encountered each another and other ethno-racial groups, many for the first time.

Finally, mirroring Gabaldón's own internationalism, this chapter travels between, within, and through the Vietnam War's multinational terrain to consider the transnational circuits of labor constituting the MACV-era military empire. From Puerto Rico to West Germany, from Da Nang to Guam, America's war in Vietnam operated on a global scale. Its labor force, more than a "working-class" army, was sutured from a complex constituency of actors whose racial, ethnic, and national backgrounds would play an important role in distinctly challenging traditional modes of citizenship, patriotic duty, and US practices of imperial warfare. Along these same lines, this chapter underscores the significant ways in which GI's of color underwrote anti-war movement efforts. In so doing, I offer an expanded discussion of the relationship between non-white soldiers and Third World Leftist proponents including groups such as the Black Panther Party (BPP).

This chapter takes up the question of how soldiers of color, specifically Latina/os, experienced race and racialization during the latter years of the Vietnam War. In examining the distinct and disparate experiences of Latina/o service members as racialized and/or necolonial subjects, this chapter joins historian Natalia Molina's call for a "relational treatment of race" recognizing that "race is a mutually constitutive process

and thus attends to how, when, where, and to what extent groups intersect."[70] For example, this chapter examines the specificity of ways in which Black Power movements resonated with Afro-Latino soldiers, namely Puerto Ricans, in fostering a collective ethos of dissent.

Much of the scholarship about military race relations during the Vietnam War era coheres around one event—a single brutal incident that eventually spurred a Congressional investigation, a court-martial, and a host of institutional reforms. One evening in late summer 1969, during a series of racially motivated brawls at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, a white Marine was beaten to death by several minority soldiers in what came to be known as the "Rumble at Camp Lejeune." Yet no historical accounts of the incident address the presence of and participation by numerous Puerto Rican GI's, two of whom faced court-martial on charges of murder, rioting, and assault. To do so, is to recognize the ethno-racial complexity of the MACV-era military in ways heretofore unaddressed. It is also to contest the erasure of Latina/o experiences of racism during the war, historically subsumed under scholarship focusing on African-American wartime experiences.

To understand why Camp Lejeune erupted in fatal violence requires understanding how precarious, complex, and entangled military race relations had become by late 1969. The mid-1960's racial and class composition of the armed forces was the most diverse of its time, with the Vietnam War serving as the most racially

[70] Natalia Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 2014), 3.

integrated conflict in US history. "For the first time in the nation's military history," *Time Magazine* boasted in a cover story from 1967, "its Negro fighting men are fully integrated in combat, fruitfully employed in positions of leadership."[71] That same year, journalist Frank McGee produced an hour-long documentary, *Same Mud, Same Blood* chronicling the month he spent embedded with the 101st Airborne division in the Republic of Vietnam. Concentrating on experiences of African-American soldiers, *Same Mud, Same Blood* turned its lens towards an optimistic portrayal of racial integration.[72] Of race in wartime conditions, McGee highlighted one soldier's response--"it doesn't exist. We're all soldiers. The only color we know is khaki and green, the color of the mud and the color of the blood is all the same"[73] By fall 1969, however, hundreds if not thousands of outbreaks of racial violence had become a consistent feature on military installations across the US and throughout Western Europe, Southeast Asia, Korea, and Canada threatening to rend the United States Armed Forces (USAF) in half. In response to the outbreaks of violence, the military initially settled on a "fact-finding" mission led by Robert Render, a top Pentagon official, tasked with investigating the causes of "racial hostility" within the Armed Forces. The "Render Report" (1970) remains an overlooked, but key document in understanding the complexity of military race relations during an intensely volatile moment in American military history. More importantly, it remains one of the few documents of the era articulating the concerns of "Spanish-speaking" soldiers, revealing insights into explicit forms of discrimination facing Latina/o military personnel.

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[71] "Democracy in the Foxhole," *Time,* May 26, 1967.15.
[72] *NBC Special Report*, "Same Mud, Same Blood," NBC Universal, 1967, narrated by Frank McGee.
[73] (quoted in Westheider, *Fighting in Vietnam*, 186).

In the pages that follow, I look at a constitutive moment in the history of the military, during which "revolution was in the air" for the diverse set of soldiers that came to comprise MACV-era forces.[74] Drawing from scholar Laura Pulido's work on the history of the Third World Left, I consider how distinct experiences of racialization led to resistance, mobilization, and opposition by these soldiers. Conversely, this chapter also concerns how the military responded to such actions, using bureaucratic mechanisms to contain, absorb, and assuage frustrations over race relations. Ultimately, such changes would foster the implementation of new apparatuses for racial discourse—a subject I will address in the following chapter.

A RACIAL PROBLEM OF CONSIDERABLE MAGNITUDE"[75]: THE "RUMBLE AT CAMP LEJEUNE"

It should be said that today's marines are not "all green." There are white marines and black marines, and each has his identity.[76]

The Area I Service Club had long been a hub of social life among enlisted members of the First Battalion, 2nd Marine Division stationed at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, N.C.[77] Housed in a faded white cinder-block building that more closely

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74 Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) 19.

75 House Committee on Armed Forces, "Inquiry into the Disturbances at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, N. C.", on July 20, 1969, 91st Congress, 1st Session. 5055.

76 Ibid. According to a long popular Marine slogan, "there are only Green Marines."

77 Built in 1941, the 110,000-acre garrison is situated along the coastal shoreline of southeastern North Carolina, several miles outside of Jacksonville. In late July 1969, the base housed four commands: Marine Corps Base (MCB); 2nd Marine Division; Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic; and the Marine Corps Air Station with a total of 43,000 active-duty military personnel.

resembled a matchbox than Lejeune's signature two-story Georgian style red-brick barracks, the club's modest outward appearance signaled it as an enlisted men's club [EM], or *slop chute.*[78] Furnishings inside were utilitarian; a sea of mismatched swivel chairs and small, round Formica cocktail tables tidily fanning across a beer-soaked concrete floor. A motley assortment of vending machines, faded billiards tables, and magazine racks brushed against bare stucco walls. From the rear corner, an aging jukebox blaring country and soul music vied for space against a bar dishing out skinny ham sandwiches, pretzels, cigarettes, and 25-cent cans of watered down 3.2 beer, usually *Hamm's* or *Falstaff's.* Only a mammoth life-size poster of sultry starlet Raquel Welch, bikini-clad and lustfully pouting beside an empty beach added any embellishment. Dark, dank, and crowded, it shared little in common with the genteel atmosphere of most NCO and Officers' (O) Clubs. Designed for social rendezvous, closed-door meetings, and hobnobbing between career officers such stately venues usually brandished a more dignified décor. The Paradise Point Officers' Club aboard Lejeune boasted dark oak paneling, polished brass railings, plush carpets, leather sofas, etched glassware, and an impressively stocked bar of fine liquors, imported beer, and wine served alongside steaks with pommes frites. Other amenities included a golf course, swimming pool, and bowling

[78] Also known as "beer gardens", "beer taverns", "beer joints" or "beer bungalows", and a half dozen other informal monikers, *slop chutes* were bars accommodating lower-ranked service-members, E-4 or below. Unlike NCO clubs, EM's offered few amenities and served only low-alcohol content beer. The nickname *slopchute* is derived from a ship's receptacle for garbage disposal. On EM clubs or "open messes" abroad, see Meredith Lair, *Armed with Abundance: Consumerism and Soldiering in the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). 134-137.

alley.[79]

The service club's interior set into sharp relief disparities between enlisted service members and the officer corps. Far from arbitrary, such distinctions in creature comforts--even as minor as alcohol selection—helped preserve a rigid military caste system long resented by enlistees and the subject of growing polarization within the Vietnam generation's ranks. As the war progressed and casualty counts mounted to their highest numbers yet—over 500 a week-- discrepancies in treatment assumed greater meaning for those carrying its burden on less exalted shoulders.[80] In particular, strict policies prohibiting socializing ("fraternization") between officers, NCO's, and enlistees had become especially irksome, and so well known, a 1973 episode of the popular television show *M*A*S*H* even addressed the subject. Expressing a commonly held sentiment among GI's, a soldier identifying himself as "Ned from Na Trang" groused to *Rolling Stone* magazine, "Officers aren't allowed to associate with us lowly, peon, scum bag EM's--that's 'enlisted men'…what a fucking label."[81] However insistent military maxims were about the democracy of the uniform, the fact remained that rank dictated all aspects

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[79] Gertrude Carraway, *Camp Lejeune Leathernecks: Camp Lejeune, N.C.: Marine Corps Largest All-Purpose Base.* (New Bern: Owen G. Dunn Company, 1946). 34.

[80] In June 1969, *LIFE* magazine ran an intensely controversial cover story titled "The Faces of American Dead in Vietnam: One Week's Toll" featuring an image of U.S. Army Specialist William G. Gearing Jr.—Gearing was just one of 242 soldiers killed during the war from May 23 through June 3, 1969. Over the course of twelve pages, the magazine published all 242 pictures of soldiers that died during the conflict. "The Faces of American Dead in Vietnam: One Week's Toll," *LIFE*, June 27, 1969. Casualty rates for Vietnam War soldiers were at their highest between 1967-1969. There was a slight decline from the peak number of 14,592 in 1968 to 9, 414 in 1969, of whom 40% were draftees (a six percent increase from 1968). Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 29.

[81] Charles Perry, "Is This Any Way to Run the Army?—Stoned? *Rolling Stone*. November 9, 1968.

of a GI's life. Even what clubs one could enter. Where, how, and with whom soldiers casually mixed mattered and mattered greatly. For E-4's and below, such regulations exacerbated their limited social status within a hierarchy already deeply bound by conventions of class, race, and region. Not surprisingly, NCO clubs became acute symbols of MACV-era class-based apartheid that separated officers--largely white, college educated, and drawn from middle and upper class strata from enlistees, hailing from lower and working-class backgrounds, and more often than not, racial minorities.[82]

Conversely, for EM's pulling liberty, ready to blow off steam, drown their sorrows, or otherwise break away from the tedium of base life, the Area I served up a pocket-sized paradise. Nicknames replaced nametags, where a mostly adolescent cohort of 18-20yr olds could enact all of the rites and rituals of military fraternity vital to unit cohesion; indulging in alcohol (often to excess), playing card games, billiards or crap games, sharing jokes, or even performing crude renditions of Marine Corps hymnals. For some, it was slogging through boot camp, where drill instructors hurled epithets of, "wop", "bean bag", "morons, "spics", "rednecks", "niggers" and "faggots" at recruits with brutal indiscriminancy, that created a sense of "mutual degradation, a solidarity of the despised."[83] For others, it was inside the service club's walls that "much of the esprit de corps was welded together."[84] But perhaps more significant than a reprieve from mundane daily rigors or promoting organizational unity, was the Area I's role as a

[82] By 1967, nearly four out of five enlistees came from working-class backgrounds. Richard Jensen, John Thares Davidann, and Yoneyuki Segita, eds.,*Trans-Pacific Relations: America, Asia, and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 200.
[83] Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat,* 100.
[84] Ray Starrman, "Where Have all the officers' clubs gone?" US Defense Watch. 10 October 2015. http://usdefensewatch.com/2015/10/where-have-all-the-officers-clubs-gone/

palliative against the stress brought on by fears of deployment. By 1969, Lejeune had become "a virtual transient facility" with most Marines stationed there either just returning from tours of duty in Vietnam or scheduled shortly to be deployed. In 1967 alone, the 2nd Marine Division endured a turnover rate of 128 percent.[85] According to a 1969 pamphlet entitled "The Racial Situation" written by Major General Edwin B. Wheeler, the former battalion commander, 67 percent of the 2nd Marine Division's members had just returned from Vietnam—a rapid turnover, Wheeler believed, was a principal cause of racial tensions within the unit.[86]

Not surprisingly, when the time arrived for a farewell party three days ahead of a scheduled three-month deployment to join the Sixth Fleet in Rota Spain, the 2nd Marine Division looked to the Area 1 for its last hurrah. On the evening of July 20, 1969, while a global audience of 528 million marveled at a live broadcast of American astronaut Neil Armstrong taking his first step on the moon, an interracial crowd of two hundred Marines spilled into the Area I just after 8pm. Settling in for a night of roistering, accompanied by female Marines (WAVES), black Marines congregated near the band, while white Marines scattered throughout the club. Despite rumors the previous evening that "there was going to be some sort of trouble" the mood among partygoers remained upbeat, if short-lived. Just before 11pm, an "extremely bloody" white Marine charged through the club's front entrance, claiming an attack by a gang of black Marines. For the next forty minutes, two-dozen black and Puerto Rican soldiers armed with bricks, broken broom

[85] Allen Reed Millet. *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps.* (New York: Free Press, 1991). 71.
[86] E.W. Kenworthy, "Lejeune Commandant Worried Over Growing Racial Tension." *The New York Times*. August 15, 1969. 23.

handles, chains, and a clasp-knife roamed the Hadnot Point Area surrounding the club. Shouting "call us niggers now", "White beasts" and "we're going to mess up some beasts tonight," slogans associated with black nationalism, the "marauding marines" clashed with a handful of white soldiers along a 1.5-mile stretch of heavily wooded tracks 75 yards from the club. Walking home from a movie theater along those same "lines of drift" or paths between the barracks, 20-year old corporal Edward Bankston knew little of the melee unfolding ahead. Within minutes, a small group of 30-40 assailants swarmed Bankston, kicking, punching, and wrestling him to the ground. Seconds later, someone wielding a tree limb bashed Bankston's head with it, severely fracturing his skull. Bankston died at the naval hospital in Portsmouth, VA one week later. Two other soldiers, Pfc. James S. Young and Corporal Joseph E. Damn sustained serious stab wounds, concussions, and lacerations, requiring hospitalization, with Young's jaw wired shut. By dawn, dozens of soldiers, sporting swollen faces, black eyes, bloody noses, bruises, and busted lips limped back to the barracks, their bodies a visual testament that the much heralded esprit de corps had vanished.

The "Rumble at Camp Lejeune" swiftly drew national headlines. Even for a public roiled by violence, accustomed to weekly casualty tolls, urban uprisings, youth revolts, and daily encounters with other forms of bloodshed, the young Marine's death struck a nerve, likely propelled by a bitter irony: Bankston, a thrice-wounded Vietnam veteran, survived combat abroad only to be slain by fellow soldiers at home on American soil. Left the unenviable task of explaining how behavior among Marines, a branch popularly venerated for its discipline, rigor, camaraderie, and that "enjoyed a reputation

as the most 'elite and rugged of the nation's armed forces' had so rapidly disintegrated, Lejeune spokesman Captain Lawrence J. LePage hastened to frame the melee as an isolated incident.[87] During an early press conference, LePage tempered public fears claiming, "I think too many people were drinking too much and a big party got out of hand."[88] Early interpretations varied, but quickly settled on notions of masculine prerogative, binge drinking, and libidinal urges, underscored by an insidious racial subtext conjuring foreboding images of angry, radicalized men of color wielding weapons and threatening violence against innocent white victims. Citing an anonyms source, *The New York Times* reported fighting erupted after "a Negro marine attempted to cut in on a white sailor dancing with a white girl."[89] Subsequent stories alleged the "girl" was in fact African-American, but nonetheless faulted her refusal to dance "with the Negro marine" as precipitating the dance floor scuffle (and eventual rioting).[90] And still others disputed the skirmish's racial overtones altogether, with eyewitness citing "white faces" among assailants as proof the fracas had not skewed along racial lines.[91] That night's lethal feuding, they insisted, was a tragic consequence of too much booze exacerbated by pre-deployment jitters. And finally, according to one GI's sardonic assessment, Bankston had merely been a "shit trick"—Marine Corps parlance for "wrong

[87] Aaron B. O'Connell, *Underdogs: The Making of the Modern Marine Corps.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012). 268.
[88] UPI. "Marine Killed, Two Hurt in Camp Lejeune Rioting" Bryan Times. July 30, 1969. 1.
[89] AP. "Three Marines Injured in Lejeune Fight" *The New York Times*, July 24, 1969. 41. See also AP, "Marine Corps Investigating Assault Case" *Times-News*. July 23, 1969.16.
[90] Martin Waldron, "Corporal, 20, Dies of Injuries Week after Marine Base Fight." *The New York Times*, July 28, 1969. 22.
[91] AP. "White Marines Beaten By Gang at Camp Lejeune." *Gastonia Gazette*, July 24, 1969. 13.

place, wrong time."[92] Among the 44 African-American and Puerto Rican soldiers arrested and charged in the disturbance that night, their presence in the Marines Corps. might well have been the real "shit trick."

MARSHALING MANPOWER: RACIAL PATERNALISM & THE GREAT SOCIETY

Since 1964, when the Gulf of Tonkin resolution escalated US military involvement in South Vietnam, the multiracial complexity of the military expanded, largely owing to an increased reliance on conscription.[93] As a vast body of social, political, and military scholarship documents, the draft carried racialized and class dimensions from its inception. Under the leadership of General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System, educational, medical, and social categories allowing deferment largely privileged middle and upper class men. Those with access to lawyers, doctors, and counselors could successfully manipulate the system's exemption policies with far greater ease than could their less economically advantaged peers.[94] After conducting research into the operations of the draft in Wisconsin in 1966, sociologists James W. Davis and Kenneth M. Dolbear, offered a sobering analysis: "…men with the advantages of income and education do not experience service at the same rates as their less-advantaged contemporaries."[95]

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[92] Steven Morris, "How Blacks Upset the Marine Corps" *Ebony*, September 1969.57.
[93] For example, in 1964, 112, 386 men were drafted but that number more than doubled to 230,991 by 1965. By 1967, over 382,000 young men had been conscripted into the armed forces. Westheider, *The Vietnam War,* 32.
[94] Lawrence Baskir and William Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, the War, and the Vietnam Generation* (New York: Vintage, 1978). 8-9.
[95] Quoted in John Helmer, *Bringing the War Home: The America Soldier in Vietnam and After*. (The Free Press, London, 1974) 8.

Of the reasons one could receive service exemptions, educational deferments played the most critical role in determining draft eligibility. Hershey's 1965 "Channeling Memo" instructing draft boards to provide status deferments to college students and post graduates paid little heed to the poor state of public education available to racial minorities. At a time when only 5% of eligible African-American men were in college and when roughly half of the Mexican-origin population lacked even an eighth grade education with less than 1% enrolled in institutions of high learning, military service was all but inevitable for poor and working-class youth of color.[96] Drawing on the connection between limited educational opportunities for Mexican Americans and obligatory military service, California Representative Edward Roybal queried, "Is not the loss of one's life too high tuition to pay for an education?"[97]

Tens of thousands of racial minorities serving in the Armed Forces soon reflected the impact of these draft policies. Between 1965-69, the height of U.S. involvement in the war, African Americans constituted nearly 12.6 percent of fighting forces even though they remained only 11 percent of the US population. By 1970, Spanish-surnamed individuals comprised roughly 11 percent of active-duty service members, while U.S. Latina/os represented less than 10 percent of the US populace. Though less is known about how conscription directly affected American Indian and Alaskan Native populations, it is known that 1 out of every 4 eligible Native American men served in Vietnam, compared to the general population's number of one in twelve. Put another

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[96] Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2005) 116.
[97] AP. "Roybal Backs Chicano Viet Moratorium." *The Los Angeles Times.* August 25, 1970. A4.

way, at a time when the US Native American population constituted no more than 0.6 percent, they constituted 1.4 percent of all US troops sent to Southeast Asia.[98]

As with statistics on Latina/o soldiers in World War II, it is difficult to know with certainty how many Latina/o service members died in Vietnam because they were classified as "Caucasian" on U.S. death and casualty lists. According to Ruben Treviso, a Viet Nam war veteran, one in every five "Hispanics" was killed in action while one of every two served in a combat unit.[99] In an early 1971 article, "Mexican American Casualties in Vietnam," Ralph Guzmán cited compelling evidence that Mexican American military personnel had very high death rates during the war in Southeast Asia. Guzman analyzed casualty reports from January 1961 to February 1967 and from December 1967 to March 1969, indicating that a high percentage of young men with Spanish surnames were being killed. According to other reports, Mexican Americans accounted for approximately 20 percent of U.S. casualties, although they made up less than 10 percent of the country's population at the time.[100] Likewise, although Puerto Rico ranked nearly twenty-sixth in population among the U.S. fifty states, it ranked fourteenth in casualties and fourth in direct combat deaths during the Viet Nam era.[101]

Compulsory service category exemptions were not the only factor determining the racial constituency of the Vietnam era military. As historians James Westheider,

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[98] In total, 42,000 Native Americans served in Vietnam, representing over 77 US tribes. Tom Holm, "Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: An Excerpt: Chapter Four: A Legacy of War: The American Indian Vietnam Generation," *Wicazo Sa Review* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1995):12.
[99] Mariscal, f.5, 303.
[100] Leah Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). 5.
[101]Mariscal, 21.

Kimberley Phillips, and Christian Appy contend, the uneven racial composition of local draft boards heavily influenced the racial makeup of the MACV-era armed services. According to the 1966 presidential commission study, "*In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves when Not all Serve?"* an October questionnaire revealed that of 16,632 local draft board members, 96.3 percent were white; 1.3 percent "Negro"; 0.8 percent Puerto Rican; 0.7 percent "Spanish American"; 0.2 "Oriental" and 0.1 percent American Indian.[102] As of 1967, African-Americans constituted only 1% of nearly 4,000 local draft boards, even though African-Americans constituted roughly 13.4% of US draft calls. Furthermore, there were no black board members in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina-states with significant African-American populations.[103] In 1968, veteran Mexican American civil rights activist and American GI Forum founder Hector P. Garcia penned a letter directly to President Lyndon Johnson, pointing out that in the Rio Grande Valley counties of Texas, where Mexican Americans constituted more than 50% of the population, not a single Mexican-American was represented on local draft boards.[104]

Thus, the "little groups of neighbors" as local draft boards were colloquially referred to, were anything but. Comprised primarily of older, white military veterans, they held at their discretion the fates of hundreds of thousands of 18-26 year old men in whom they saw little potential, save for their ability to fill boots on the ground in the

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[102] "In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve, " Report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967) 19.
[103] Westheider, *Vietnam War*, 27.
[104] Lorena Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No!: Chicano Patriotism and Protest during the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). 68.

distant jungles of Southeast Asia. For Julian Camacho, a Mexican American engineer from Salinas, CA and member of Santa Cruz County Draft Board #59, the draft's inequitable allocations were soon too much to bear. Camacho publicly resigned in an act of protest not long after his appointment:

> "I saw the streams of the sons of clergy and business people and it was just unbelievable, that what I thought and what I'd read in papers was true. We were sending the children of the working families to die in the war. And the children of the privileged were being saved from that by this induction system. Well that upset me a lot."[105]

The same uneven processes of racialization underwriting the Selective Service System were more directly manifest in "Project 100,000" (POHT)—a controversial Department of Defense initiative intended to meet rising manpower needs by providing remedial training to recruits unable to pass the military's physical requirements or the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT).[106] In August 1966 Secretary of Defense William McNamara announced plans for the program, which aimed to enlist or induct 40,000 men by June 1966, with a goal set of 100,000 men per year after that. During his inaugural speech announcing POHT, McNamara touted the potential for inculcating self-respect amongst America's "subterranean poor" alluding to the program's promise of curing the "idleness, ignorance, and apathy" marking their lives.[107] Motivated by the

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[105] Interview, Julian Camacho. *On Two Fronts: Latinos and Vietnam*, directed by Mylene Moreno, Souvenir Pictures Inc., 2015.
[106] For a comprehensive history of military classification and AFQT testing, see David A. Dawson, "The Impact of Project 100.000 on the U.S. Marine Corps." (master's thesis, Kansas State University, 1994).
[107] Lisa Hsaio, "Project 100,000: The Great Society's Answer to Military Manpower Needs in Vietnam," *Vietnam Generation* 1, no. 4 (1989): 14.

idealism of the Johnson administration's Great Society Program and under the rubric of the "War on Poverty," McNamara insisted that young men of color could be "salvaged":

> "These young men can be rehabilitated…both inwardly and out. They are men, we concluded, who, placed in an atmosphere of high motivation and morale, could be transformed into competent military personnel. Many are poorly motivated when they reach us. They lack initiative. They lack pride. They lack ambition.[108]

While McNamara's original announcement did not specifically mention issues facing black Americans, it nonetheless echoed the language of the Moynihan Report rhetorically correlating "uplift" with "jobs" for black men vis-a-vis military service. Meanwhile, as legal scholar Lisa Hsaio observes, "the domestic policy of helping underprivileged blacks provided the troops necessary to carry out America's foreign policy in Vietnam"[109] Described as "New Standards Men" (NSM), McNamara made four promises regarding his experimental program, assuring the public: new recruits would receive the same basic training as regular soldiers; would become trained in skills for useful military occupations (MOS); would acquire "discipline" through exposure to the military system; and would receive veterans benefits after time served within the Armed Forces. Whatever McNamara's noble intentions, the racial paternalism of the program was clear: almost 40% of NSM's were African American. And most were drawn from abject poverty, as nearly one-third of recruits earned less than $60 a week. Poorly educated, most NSM's were barely able to read at a sixth-grade level and nearly 53% had not completed high

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[108] Robert McNamara. "Remarks by Secretary McNamara to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters" (November 7, 1967). Quoted in, John Christian Worsencroft, "Salvageable Manhood: Project 100,000 and the Gendered Politics of the Vietnam War" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 2011).
[109] Hsaio, "Project 100,000", 16-17.

school. Regionally, almost half (47.6%) came from the American South.[110] From 1965 to 1971, nearly 400,000 NSM's were drafted into the military under POHT, with 38,000 NSM soldiers drafted into the US Marine Corps alone.[111] According to a 1970 DoD study, roughly one half of the 400,000 men inducted under POHT were sent to Vietnam, with a death rate twice as high as American forces in Vietnam—underwritten by the fact that forty percent were trained for combat, as compared to twenty-five percent for all enlisted men.[112] Given that the military did not keep separate statistics on Latina/o service members, its difficult to know with accuracy how many entered service under POHT. However, according to the 1966 study *In Pursuit of Equity* data on men previously rejected by the services for failure to meet "mental" requirements (some 90% of POHT inductees) revealed that the largest percentage came from Puerto Rico, with a disproportionate percentage hailing from South Texas and other southern states. According to Jorge Mariscal, "many men whose first language was Spanish did not score well on the military qualification test, which placed them in the ranks of the new standards men."[113]

Shortly after the Tet Offensive in January 1968, draft calls again rose, climbing steadily from 23,000 in February to 41,000 in March and finally to 48,000 in April—the largest draft calls since October 1966.[114] With every summons, came new and an ever

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[110] Worsencraft, "Salveagable Manhood", 2.
[111] Dawson, "The Impact of Project," 1.
[112] Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat*, 32-33.
[113] Jorge Mariscal, *Aztlan and Viet Nam: Chicano and Chicana Experiences of the War* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 21.
[114] Fred Farrar, "US April Draft is 48,000; Hike Call for March" *Chicago Tribune.* February 24, 1968. Section 1-1. To be sure, the vast majority of approximately 3.3 million men who served in Vietnam

more expansive presence of racial minorities. From American Indian urban enclaves in Chicago and Denver to Mexican American *barrios* in East Los Angeles or Southside San Antonio, to the countryside and urban centers of Puerto Rico, young men of color, many neocolonial subjects, came to labor within the MACV-era military as never before. In so doing, these young soldiers of color limned the boundaries between foreign and domestic, discomforting reminders of the asymmetries of power, empire, and modernity shaping America's military system.

MILITARISM AND THE "TENTACLES" OF US EMPIRE

American studies scholars and post-colonial theorists alike contend that US imperialism operates discursively, through "seemingly benign forms of power that mobilize racialized and gendered notions of benevolence, protection, and uplift" alongside deploying more overt, coercive forms of state power.[115] As Amy Kaplan, William Appleman Williams, Laura Wexler, and Matthew Frye Jacobsen have demonstrated, throughout the course of the late 19th and 20th centuries, US global empire has been maintained, expanded, and reliant upon a diverse range of practices merging together both direct apparatuses of state power (military intervention, settler-colonialism) with ideological narratives foregrounding US democracy, virtue, and compassion.[116] At

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between 1965 and 1975 enlisted voluntarily, but some 40% were drafted. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat.* 18.

[115] Simeon Man, "Aloha, Vietnam: Race and Empire in Hawai'i's Vietnam War," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (December 2015): 1086.

[116] Amy and Donald E. Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life* (New York, NY: Oxoford University Press, 1980); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of US Imperialism* (Durham, NC:

the heart of American empire then reside discursive contradictions that work by disavowing and/or rendering absent the violent genealogies of US colonialism that brought constituents from Latin America, Africa, and Asia under US domain.

Even as the US waged its war in Vietnam under a pretense of anti-colonial liberation, it nonetheless did so while replicating its own forms of colonial power. In many regards, the MACV-era military operated as a neocolonial formation, dependent upon and constituted through its use of foreign soldiers. As Simeon Man's work illustrates, the MACV-era military directly utilized South Korean, Philippine, and Taiwanese nationals in its efforts to materially and ideologically consolidate US military presence throughout the Asia Pacific Rim.[117] But the presence of "foreign" soldiers alone does not tell the whole story of America's neocolonial military enterprise. Conscription, a coercive form of state power, inextricably linked American soldiers of color to their neocolonial counterparts originating from the American territories of Guam, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Canal Zone.[118]

In so far as both neocolonial inhabitants and racial minorities alike existed on the periphery of the nation-state, geographically, culturally, socially, and economically tangential to the mainstream American polity, conscription served dual purposes. First, it delivered its primary role of ensuring the state could obtain sufficient manpower at a moment when that endeavor was in jeopardy. Second, and more importantly, conscription

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University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Matthew Frye Jacbosen, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York, NY: Hill & Wang, 2001).

[117] Simeon Man, "Conscripts of Empire: Race and Soldiering in the Decolonizing Pacific" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2012).

[118] Soldiers from these territories were both drafted and/or volunteered. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat*, 15.

ideologically levied heterogeneous groups—African-Americans, Latina/os, Chamorros, Samoans, etc—into a presumed horizontal standing within the nation.

The case of Herminio Soto-Ramirez, one of the thousands of young men drafted in 1969 alone is suggestive. A native of Guaydia, a small neighborhood in Guyanilla, a southern municipality in Puerto Rico, Soto was a 22-year old college student at the Catholic University of Puerto Rico in Ponce, and a promising baseball player when he learned he would be shipped out to war in November 1969. In his memoir, *Vietnam: La Terrible Verdad,* Soto recounts how the draft impacted he and his friends:

> *Recordaba con la tristeza, ahora rodeado de todos su amigos íntimos en un piedra cubierta de limo en mitad del rio, cuando en un salón replete de soldados en las temperaturas heladas de Fort Dix, como un sargento pronunciaba sarcásticamente el nombre de un compañero soldado e, inmediamente, como embargado por un maléfico y morboso rancor, leía y volvía a señalar la odiada palabra….ordenes para Viet-Nam. Aquel día melancólico muchos de los compañeros soldados lloraron de rabia y dolor. Durante todo el período de entrenamiento, solamente pronunciaban la palabra maléfica de matar a Charlie.*[119]
>
> I remember with sadness the moment I was sitting with my closest friends as we sat near a rock by the river, listening to our friend describe a packed room of freezing soldiers at Fort Dix, NJ and how a Sargent, sarcastically pronounced his name and then overcome by a malicious and morbid hatred, he would read and then signal the hated words, "Ordered to Vietnam." That sad day, a lot of my friends would cry from rage, pain and sadness. All throughout their training, all they heard pronounced and screamed was the horrible phrase, "Kill Charlie!"
>
> *El Servicio Militar Obligatorio, extendió sus tentáculos múltiples para desunirlos para siempre. Los muchachos de la Barriada Guaydia estarían siendo enlistados den el ejercito norteamericano, enviados a servir a lugares remotos por todo el mundo. Vidas jóvenes que a edad temprana vieron marchitarse sus ilusiones y esperanzas, por el capricho empecinado de un selecto grupo de personas; que escogieron para servir en Las Fuerzas Armadas; a los menos privilegiados económicamente.*

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[119] Herminio Soto Ramirez, *Viet-Nam: La Terrible Verdad* (Guayanilla, PR: Editorial Vea Voces, 1997), 5.

> The draft extended its multiple tentacles into us, separating us forever. The kids of Guaydia, they would be enlisted in the US Army, sent to serve in remote places all over the world. Young lives that at a very young age saw their desires and hopes squashed by the determined resolve of a select group of people; that selected the poorest of the poor to serve in *their* Armed Forces.[120]

Obligated to fight for a nation whose elections he did not even possess the right to vote in despite US citizenship, Soto-Ramirez's account elegantly documents the hegemony of US colonial governance over Puerto Rico and other "unincorporated territories." Metaphorically likening the draft to "tentacles," from whose grip he and his friends cannot escape, they are violently separated by the penetrating forces of US governmentality. As a Puerto Rican, Soto-Ramirez voices the conflict of identity experienced by thousands of Puerto Rican soldiers, but also shared by other soldiers of Latina/o descent. On the one hand, their citizenship transforms, compels, and marshals their bodies into soldiers for the US security State, obliging them to perpetrate violence against other neocolonial subjects—Vietnamese soldiers, abstracted through military phonetics into the dehumanizing racial slur, "Charlie." On the other, their identity lay imbricated within national, regional, and culturally specific frames, forging for some, an oppositional consciousness to both military service and perhaps their own national identity.

Drawn from diverse geographic regions, ethnic backgrounds, and language capabilities, Latina/o soldiers found themselves bracketed within a military racial hierarchy polarized along black-white lines. "The Whites, even the white supervisors were degrading the blacks and Chicanos," recalls Ricardo, a Vietnam veteran. "You had

[120] Ibid.

hard core white people in there that wanted to fight. They came from the South, and some blacks came from Alabama or Louisiana and they hated whites. They had been segregated back home and here they had to live together in this confined area."[121] Writing in a diary entry that was later published in *LOOK* magazine, 22-year old David Parks, the son of distinguished African-American photographer, writer, and activist Gordon Parks, highlighted parallel conditions of mistreatment shared by African-American and Puerto Rican soldiers. In Park's estimation, soldiers of color were disproportionately chosen to be Forward Observers (FO's), a dangerous combat assignment, by white officers and non-coms. "So far, it seems to me he ("Sgt. Paulson") fingered only Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It's a bitch. If only the souls (Negroes) and Puerto Ricans could tell the world what really happens to them in this man's army."[122]

Marines assigned to Camp Lejeune throughout the spring and summer of 1969 entered an especially corrosive milieu enveloped by Southern racial politics. As one young African American Army private from Newark, NJ remarked, "Look, we're down South and they treat us [blacks] like we're down South."[123] According to an April 1969 report by the "Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Treatment and Opportunity," an informal body established to document Camp Lejeune's race relations problems, seething black-white tensions threatened to boil over into "an explosive situation of major

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[121] Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos,* 216.

[122] Excerpts from Park's diary from his 1965 tour of duty were eventually published in *GI Diary* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1968). AP, "Veteran Tells Injustice: Black Soldier's Diary Says Minorities Get Foul Jobs," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), March 5, 1968, 4.

[123] William Greider, "Black Ire Erupts on Military Posts." *The Washington Post,* August 16, 1969. A5.

proportions."[124] From January to August 1969, seven months prior to Bankston's death, there had been 155 reported assaults, with the majority (136) involving African-American soldiers attacking white soldiers during muggings, robberies, and individual skirmishes, usually just after payday.[125] One local newspaper described the atmosphere as so tinged with violence, the camp was "bathed in buckets of blood" from altercations between white and black GI's. But if "violence is the language of the unheard" then such encounters, usually spontaneous, were not motivated by avarice alone. Rather, these outbursts resulted from long-held grievances of abuse, neglect, and systematic discrimination endured by African-American and minority soldiers, whose complaints, according to one non-commissioned officer "fell on deaf ears."[126]

Many white soldiers, themselves Southerners, openly resented newly adopted expressions of black pride by African-American GI's. Emboldened by the Black Power movement then at its apex and inspired by charismatic leaders like Malcolm X, Amiri Baraka, and boxer Muhammad Ali, with rising frequency black soldiers embraced their African cultural roots. Stylistically, many began donning black beads, black gloves, "slave bracelets," Afro hairstyles, and brandishing the Pan-African flag. Others employed the "dap," an elaborate handshake exchanged only with other black soldiers as a statement of brotherhood.[127] Among white soldiers, minority soldiers appeared to be

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[124] E.W. Kenworthy, "Marine Report Predicted Race Unrest Before Killing," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), August 10, 1969, A1.
[125] E.W. Kenworthy, "Lejeune Commandant Worried Over Growing Racial Tension." *The New York Times*. August 15, 1969. 23.
[126] Kenworthy, "Marine Report Predicted Race," A1.
[127] Expressing black solidarity, "slave bracelets" were small bracelets usually woven from bootlaces. James E. Westheider, *The African-American Experience in Vietnam:Brothers in Arms* (New York:

advocating insubordination, or otherwise, demanding "preferential treatment" propagating their racial identity over the military's insistence on interracial comity. Many whites viewed such actions as a pretense to harass, persecute, or otherwise mistreat their African-American and minority counterparts.

Throughout military bases in the US South, but particularly at Camp Lejeune, racial slurs, taunts, and epithets were regularly hurled at non-whites, with KKK graffiti and Confederate Flags a common sight scrawled on buildings, latrines, and in barracks. As one young Latina/o soldier stated, "We all have name tapes on our uniforms. Yet we find people calling us 'Hey, you,' 'boy' or 'Jose.' Let them read the name and use it. We're men and want to be treated accordingly."[128] Meanwhile, older white Marines considered the Black Power salute of a clenched fist an egregious affront, symbolizing a direct challenge to authority; an endorsement of defiant behavior incommensurate with USMC values. For example, while he may have considered himself a sympathetic ally to African American soldiers, Major General Michael P. Ryan, Commander of the 2nd Marine Division, nonetheless reminded a local reporter, "if they play the National Anthem and someone puts his fist up in the air, I'll put that man in jail."[129]

For ethno-racial minorities like Latina/os, traversing the complicated racial antagonisms between African Americans and whites required a careful negotiation of the color line. Sometimes, this meant avoiding interracial conflicts altogether. Recalls Tanis,

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Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). 59. Herman Graham, III. *The Brothers' Vietnam War: Black Power, Manhood and the Military Experience.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003). 105.

[128] Quoted in Horace A. Reed Jr. "Soldiers Look at Race Relations." *Army Digest* 25, no. 4 (April 1970): 4-13.

[129] William Greider, "Black Ire Erupts." A5.

a Chicano Vietnam veteran, "The Mexicanos generally stayed out of the fights. Our attitude was, "*Que se den en la madre los dos*,' we aint' going to get involved. That's their *pleito* [fight]."[130] Other times, it meant deploying what historian Frank Guridy theorizes as "racial knowledge"-- the manner by which individuals draw on a personal archive of knowledge developed from everyday interactions of racial significance culled from "practices, acts, styles, images, etc."[131] According to Guridy, individuals employ racial knowledge when they survey their physical surroundings to make informed judgments about race and the racial climate they inhabit. In a telling example, several Mexican American marines newly arrived at Camp Lejuene in October 1969 reported on their strategy for navigating black-white tensions at the camp: "One white boy asked if I was Puerto Rican, but I told him I was Mexican so he didn't do anything. I never go out anywhere though. I just stay with my unit."[132] Fresh from boot camp, the new recruit immediately recognized the value of claiming his Mexican identity, socially construed as a form of whiteness over and against solidarity with Puerto Ricans. Such a tactic also speaks to historian Molina's insistence on understanding race and racial formation relationally. Though ethnic Mexicans in the US faced overt and institutionalized discrimination, legally and in this instance, relationally, whiteness prevailed in the black-white dichotomy of the US South. And certainly to the sensibilities of the "white boy"

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[130] "They can go fuck each other." Quoted in Leah Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos: Chicanos Recall the War* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004) 217.

[131] Adrian Burgos Jr., "The Latins from Manhattan: Confronting Race and Building Community in Jim Crow Baseball, 1906-1950," 2001, in *Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York*, ed. Agustin Lao-Montez and Arlene Davila (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001), F9, 91.

[132] Flora Lewis, "Racial Rift Widens within the Marine Corps" *Los Angeles Times,* 3 October 1969. B7.

interrogating the new arrivals, Mexicans were simply "ethnic whites," not potential troublemakers like their more supposedly politicized counterparts, Afro-Puerto Rican soldiers. However, on other occasions, Mexican identity presumed a relational scale to blackness. Of his penchant for listening to *rolas mexicanas*, traditional Mexican folk music, one Chicano soldier recalled, "In North Carolina, they used to call us [Mexicans] 'long-haired niggers.' That's the first time I ever heard anything like that, and so that racism made me take refuge in something that was familiar."[133]

According to Westheider, "the conditions at Camp Lejeune that led to violence were typical of the racial climate that existed throughout the military establishment."[134] That is, pressures to navigate black-white tensions could be intense, even lethal and not exclusive to Lejeune. The case of Carlos Hernandez Rodriguez is telling. Rodriguez, an 18-year old Army private faced court-martial on charges of attempted murder after an altercation with a fellow GI and alleged Ku Klux Klan (KKK) member in June 1970. Writing to his friend, Pvt. John Van Hook, Rodriguez recounted how the suspected KKK member threatened him, noting: "He belonged to the KKK and said he was trying to use me. He called me a nigger lover and all that. He even painted on my bed sheets this quote, 'Nigger lover, stay away from them or you will be next, signed KKK'."[135] Such incidents emblematize the bigotry facing Puerto Ricans like Pvt. Raymond A. Rivera, 19 and Cpl. Carmen Nunez, 23, two of the five soldiers court-martialed in Bankston's death. Hailing from San Sebastian, Puerto Rico—a city boastful of its heritage as home to the

[133] Ybarra, *Vietnam Veteranos,* 220.
[134] James E. Westheider, *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).95.
[135] AP. GI Said to Face Trial in Fight with Klansman." *The Washington Post.* June 2, 1970. A2.

first Puerto Rican soldier drafted under the 1917 Jones-Shafroth Act--it is unclear if either were drafted, though their chronological timeline at Lejeune coincides with draft calls made by the USMC between 1967 and 1969.[136]

THE BLOOD TAX: CONSCRIPTION, NEOCOLONIALISM, AND THE CASE OF PUERTO RICAN GI'S

I was sent to Vietnam to do what good colonized people do: protect the economic, military, and political interests of the colonizer.-Oscar Lopez Rivera[137]

Nunez and Rivera represented nearly 27,000 Puerto Rican youths from the island who were inducted into service by July 1970; 22,000 of whom were drafted and 5,000 of which had volunteered since 1964.[138] Boasting of the morale of Puerto Rican troops, island Governor Luis A. Ferré noted they were less likely to engage in acts of civil disruption, and the biggest challenges they faced were simple cultural ones. Their only problems, the governor declared, were, "the rarity of native foods like pastelas (pork and squash wrapped in banana leaves) and 'mondongo' (tripe, pumpkin, potatoes and bananas stewed in tomato sauce) the scarcity of Puerto Rican flags in service centers, and the difficulty in understanding English."[139] But the issue of conscription on the island was far more complex and contested than Ferre conceded. Well before Puerto Rican young men entered into the MACV-era military, the "blood tax" or imposition of the draft had been a

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[136] Even less is known about a figure like Central American, Albert Hamlington, from Tala, Honduras who was also court-martialed in Bankston's death. In total, 48,000 Puerto Ricans were drafted from between 1964 and 1972.

[137] Bernard Headley. "Who Is the Terrorist? The Making of a Puerto Rican Freedom Fighter." *Social Justice:*
Racism, Powerlessness, and Justice 16.4 (1989): 160-74. 171-2.

[138] Irwin Goodwin, Puerto Ricans Question the Draft" *The Washington Times Herald,* 27 July 1970. A4.

[139] Ibid.

politicized issue for decades and cause for denunciation of the island's Commonwealth status.[140]

The history of Puerto Rico's modern colonial period began in 1898, when the United States garnered possession of the island following its short, bloody and "splendid little war" with Spain. At the close of the century, Guam, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines were all that remained of the once powerful Spanish empire, which had variously ruled its insular colonies for four hundred years. In 1898, following decades of Cuban political unrest and armed insurrections, the US entered into conflict with Spain under the pretense of "freeing" Cubans from the tyranny of Spanish control, claiming it would usher in modern civilization and republican governance. The battle between the US and Spain lasted little more than four months, until the US declared victory in December 1898, though its military occupation of Puerto Rico had begun four months earlier. With the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the US procured these nations, but in the decades that followed both the Philippines and Cuba achieved their independence from the US. Puerto Rico (and Guam), however, remained in US possession as unincorporated territories, delineated as neither fully domestic nor completely foreign. That US sovereignty now extended beyond its continental borders gave rise to spurious Congressional debates about the racial fitness of colonial "alien races" that would unfold for several more years as politicians, policy-makers, and such high-profile statesmen as Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Samuel Gompers deliberated on whether

[140] Luis R. Davila Colon, "The Blood Tax: The Puerto Rican Contribution to the U.S. War Efforts" *Revista del Colegio de Abogados de Puerto Rico*. 40. (November 1969). 603-640.

or not the "constitution followed the flag." Proponents, like US Representative Sereno Payne (R-NY) described Puerto Rico's inhabitants as "generally full-blooded white people" and thus, suitably qualified for citizenship.[141] On the other hand, opponents, alluding to Puerto Rican mixed race identity and presence of African blood, claimed they were "inferior offspring of an already mid-level race."[142]Attempting to resolve the anomalous political status of Puerto Rican nationals, Congress passed the Jones Act in 1917, granting statutory citizenship to the island's residents.[143] Yet this provisional form of citizenship did not grant rights equivalent to that of US citizens, though it did enable Puerto Ricans to move without restriction between the island and mainland; created a system of government for which residents could elect their own legislature (though the US president retained the right to appoint a governor); and allowed Puerto Ricans exemption from paying federal income taxes, yet also denied them the right to vote in federal elections.

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[141] Quoted in Rick Baldose and César Ayala, "The Bordering of America: Colonialism and Citizenship in the Philippines and Puerto Rico," *Centro Journal* XXV, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 83.

[142] Quoted in Irene Mata, *Domestic Disturbances: Re-imagining Narratives of Gender, Labor, and Immigration* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2014), 99.

[143] There has been much scholarly speculation about the Jones Act and its relationship to US entry into World War I, with some scholars arguing that military recruitment of Puerto Rican nationals constituted the driving force behind the legislation. On this point, see Jorge Rodriguez-Beruff, *Strategy as Politics: Puerto Rico on the Eve of the Second World War* (San Juan, PR: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2007). However, other scholars contend that non-citizens at the time were also subject to conscription, instead arguing that military recruitment comprised a minor factor, but that the legislation was more heavily rooted in geo-political strategy and a desire to suppress a growing independence movement on the island. On this point, see José Trías-Monge, *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 67-87.

Notions of sacrifice, expendability, and loss, informed by this colonial history, directly catalyzed anti-war efforts anew by island youth, beginning in May 1965 when 22-year old Sixto Rodriguez refused to swear allegiance to the U.S. flag after receiving his induction notice. Hundreds of island youth followed suit, registering their opposition to conscription by refusing induction, staging street protests, and even setting fire to the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR). According to Juan Garcia Pasalaequa, a former clerical aide to the governor and vocal draft opponent, the draft violated the rights of Puerto Ricans:

> "It is not due process, it is not equal protection, it is not true justice that the 1949 Compulsory Military Training Act applies to Puerto Rico when our residents don't take part in the election of Members of Congress nor the President and have no voting representative in Congress. The drafting is unjust."[144]

Both on and off the island, citizenship remained a deeply contested issue, splitting along geographic lines with island *independentistas* launching anti-draft initiatives rooted in notions of island nationality, voting rights, and desires for statehood, against mainland Puerto Ricans laying claim to rights abrogated by poverty, urban dislocation, and police brutality.[145] Dennis Mora, one of three soldiers ["Fort Hood Three"] who refused to go to Vietnam as conscientious objectors in 1966, aptly summated this latter position:

> "As a Puerto Rican, the first war I knew was against the poverty of Spanish Harlem…I went to school where teachers counseled Puerto Ricans to forget their plans for higher education because they were Puerto Rican and therefore somehow inferior. The first uniform I knew was the cop on the corner. He was there to let you

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[144] *Ibid.*

[145] In 1966, five members of the Pro-Independence Movement, a splinter group of the former People's Independence Party, were arrested in San Juan for refusing to report for induction. AP, "Separatists Resist Draft in Puerto Rico," *New York Times* (New York, NY), October 30, 1966, 45.

> know that you could only look at the clean world outside as a prisoner looks from his cell."[146]

That same year, five Puerto Rican youth from Washington D.C. launched a hunger strike protesting the draft. Setting up camp on a sidewalk across from the national Mall, they carried placards calling for an end to compulsory military service on the grounds that Puerto Ricans lacked representation in Congress. Read one picket sign, "End the blood tribute of our youth into the armed forces."[147]

The asymmetrical terms of citizenship, nationality, and belonging experienced by Chicanos and Puerto Ricans were more literally experienced by other Latina/os service-members. Puerto Rican Frank Esquillin recalls being en route to basic training in Fort Benning, Georgia and encountering young men from Panama and the Dominican Republic. These young men disclosed to Esquillin, that according to their recruiters, they would become U.S. citizens if they joined the Army. As Esquillin recalls, "What they weren't told was that they had to spend six years in the military….Sometimes I wonder how many guys died thinking they were citizens."[148] In April 1967, the death of 23-year old Peruvian draftee Eduardo Pablo Branes, highlighted the role of non-citizen soldiers serving in the MACV-era military. Branes's death followed the casualties of three other

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[146] Statement by Dennis Mora. *The Fort Hood Three: The Case of the three GI's who said "no" to the war in Vietnam* (New York, NY: Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 1966), 14-15.
[147] AP, "Puerto Rican Pickets Ask End to War," *Washington Post* (Washington, DC), September 19, 1966, B1.
[148] Gil Dominguez, *They Answered the Call: Latinos in the Vietnam War* (Baltimore, MD: PublishAmerica LLLP) 82.

Peruvian immigrants and one Chilean immigrant, spurring proposed legislation by Peruvian government authorities against conscription of Latin American nationals.[149]

"ESTÁS AQUÍ, YA NO ESTÁS ALLÁ"[150]: PROVISIONAL LATINIDAD IN THE CONTACT ZONES OF WAR

Whether through conscription or voluntary enlistment, the MACV-era force brought together a constellation of Latina/o diasporic subjects representing distinct national-origins, regions, class backgrounds, racial identities, and cultural specificities. In the theater of war, an erratic space where different rules structured daily life, where friendships emerged among individuals not otherwise likely to have crossed paths, encounters between different national-origin Latina/os engendered possibilities for *Latinidad*, or a shared sense of Latino identity. In making this assertion, I draw from Frances Aparicio's concept of interlatino sites, or "those sites where two or more Latinos from various national origins encounter, construct, and transculturate each other."[151]

The case of German Abadia-Olmeda, an Afro-Puerto Rican, illustrates the complexity of Latina/o subjectivity in Vietnam. Abadia-Olmeda, a native of Farjardo,

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[149] The proposed legislation, sponsored by Senator Hector Cornejo Chavez, would have made US citizens living in Peru eligible for conscription into the Peruvian armed forces. The Cornejo bill marked the first effort in any Latin American country to halt conscription of Latin nationals by threatening retaliation against US citizens. John Goshko, "US Foreign Draft Angers Peru," *Washington Post* (Washington, DC), April 30, 1967, A3.

[150] You are here now, not over there.

[151] Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," abstract, *Latino Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 93.

Puerto Rico was just 18 when he received his draft notice in the fall of 1967.[152] Upon being summoned, Abadia-Olmeda believed he should "go into hiding" noting "he did not understand why he needed to go fight a war in Vietnam, one that he had no knowledge of."[153] After reporting to service on January 1st, Abadia-Olmeda arrived at Fort Jackson, South Carolina for basic training and was assigned to Charlie Company, Fifth Battalion, First Brigade. With little knowledge of English, Abadia-Olmeda felt humiliated by American officials who mockingly repeated "no comprende?" to him "over and over again" when he was unsure of what they were saying—to him, "it felt like it was said out of malice."[154] Likewise, Abadia-Olmeda recalled the "constant division between whites and the rest" observing "he remembered feeling racism throughout the entire time he served."[155] As an Afro-Latino monolingual Spanish-speaker, Abadia-Olmeda encountered dual marginalization, differentiated and "Othered" because of both his language and racial identity.

Abadia-Olmeda's frustrating experience with linguistic racism corresponded with that of other Latina/os'. Writing home to his family, Mexican-American Army Private Adalberto Correa criticized his superior officers' claiming, "Instead of helping me, they laughed at me and said that I was stupid. After that, they made me a cook."[156] Correa's experience was hardly unique. Referring to fellow soldiers', a Puerto Rican Vietnam

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[152] German Abadia-Olmeda interview by Manuel Aviles-Santiago. Fajardo, Puerto Rico. June 17, 2010. Folder 778. Voces Oral History Project Archive. Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin. 1.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Interview Abadia-Olmeda, 2.
[155] Interview Abadia-Olmeda, 4.
[156] Department of Defense, "The Latin American Challenge and Army Hispanic Soldier Policy", Rep. (1985).12.

veteran recalled, "They just continually made snag comments, snag remarks. They'll mimic you when they speak. They tried to speak like 'heymenospeakanoenglish' with an accent or, try to make one up or say something about back home, or just make reference to Latinos being slow or lazy or stuff like that."[157] For Puerto Rican Marcelino Garcia, Spanish became not only a marker of identity, but also punitive retribution. Despite the fact that he spoke no English, Garcia claimed his superior officer refused to let him speak Spanish and when he refused to comply, entered into a physical confrontation with a sergeant that very nearly resulted in a court martial.[158]

While conversing in Spanish might elicit insult, harassment, or formal reprimand, paradoxically it could also became a source of cultural affirmation; a means of producing an alternative ethno-cultural based affinity marking membership among and fortifying social relations between diverse national-origin Latina/os. According to oral histories conducted by Lea Ybarra with Chicano Vietnam veterans, a substantial number reported speaking Spanish among themselves and with other Latina/os. Remarking on his close friendship with two fellow Latinos--Rey Martinez, a Chicano and Freddy Hernandez, a Cuban-American--Mexican-American veteran Rudy Lopez recalls, "Rey and I palled around together because we were Chicanos….It was great speaking Spanish with another

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[157] "Snag" is slang for "problematic" or "derisive." Private Lopez quoted in Elsa Mercado, *Midwest Latino Veteran Experiences from Vietnam to the Persian Gulf Wars*, Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program (Summer, 2006), 4-5.

[158] Marcelino Garcia Collection (AFC/2001/001/64447) Video recording, Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress.

guy."[159] For Lopez and others, Spanish provided an idiom of comfort, mutual recognition, and familiarity enabling a strengthening of bonds between Chicanos and other Latina/os hailing from different geographic areas. Miguel "El Mayque" Lemus, who served with the 25th Infantry in Vietnam from 1967 to 1968, remembers: "When I got to Viet Nam, they made a platoon of all the Chicanos there—all grunts. Órale, aquí estábamos hablando español y la chingada. Most of the platoon was from Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California. I met a lot of Raza overseas."[160]

By speaking Spanish, a verbal expression of their ethnic identity, Latina/o soldiers practiced a form of cultural citizenship—"a broad range of activities of everyday life through which Latinos and other groups claim space in society and eventually rights."[161] Just as African-American soldiers professed cultural pride and fraternity through "dapping," Latina/o soldiers could employ Spanish to reconstitute a sense of community and shared belonging, creating spaces of intimacy, kinship, and ethnic consciousness that equipped them with an affective safeguard under the fraught circumstances of war and broader racism of U.S. military culture. Of his "all Chicano unit" Lemus observes, "We got along well…We had to protect each other 'cause no one was going to protect us."[162]

Yet it would be false to presume that Spanish unilaterally contributed to a sense of pan-Latino identity formation and cohesion. While Spanish could and often did

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[159] Rudolpho Lopez interviewed by Valerie Fernandez. Phoenix, Arizona. August 16, 2010. Folder 821. Voces Oral History Project Archive. Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin. 1.

[160] "Okay, we were speaking Spanish and all that bullshit." Charley Trujillo, *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam* (San Jose, CA: Chusma House, 1990),33.

[161] William Flores and Rina Benmayor, *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997), 15.

[162] Trujillo, *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam*, 34.

successfully cultivate social interactions, exchange, and camaraderie among diverse national-origin Latina/os, it could just as likely precipitate intra-Latina/o divisions. The materialization of US-based ethnic nationalist movements embodied by groups like the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican revolutionary nationalist group or the Chicano-oriented Crusade for Justice, both of whom adopted anti-war platforms based on shared histories of US colonialism and conquest respectively, made apparent that many Latina/os privileged their national-origins and distinct cultural identities above expressions of pan-ethnic Latina/o solidarity. Describing a physical confrontation with another Latina/o soldier, veteran Miguel "Rhino" Gastelo, a Mexican-American from Corcoran, California serving as an infantryman with the US Army's Americal Division [Company B, 3rd Battalion, 196th Light Infantry Brigade] recalls:

> It was a little unusual because the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans would stick together. At times, the Puerto Ricans had some hassles with the negroes, and the Chicanos would back the Puerto Ricans. There were a lot of Puerto Ricans, about seven of them, and three Chicanos. And you know, Puerto Ricans speak Spanish a little differently than Chicanos do. Well, this one Puerto Rican dude who was drunk began to tell me that Chicanos didn't speak Spanish right; in other words, he was telling me that they were superior to us. That's when I told him he was sick from his *culo*."[163]

Gastelo and his adversary continued trading insults, until Gastelo terminated the skirmish by stabbing his opponent in the hand with a small knife and then exiting. This anecdote is striking in two registers. For on one hand, Gastelo invokes a shared Latino identity, evinced by his assertion "the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans would stick together." In Gastelo's framing, each group retains their autonomous appellations ("Chicanos" and

[163] "ass" Trujillo, *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet*, 124.

"Puerto Ricans"), but practice horizontal affinity (ie "stick together") and are sufficiently linked enough culturally so that when "Puerto Ricans had hassles with negroes" Chicanos physically or ideologically supported their Puerto Rican brethren. On the other hand, this provisional *Latinidad* remains ambivalent, fractured by the retention of discrete national-origin designations ("Puerto Rican" and "Chicano") and contestations over Spanish language proficiency, a mode by which one group asserted cultural authenticity, disjuncture from, or "superiority" over others.[164]

As Latinos, both Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans "occupy racialized locations in an intermediary space between white and Black"—a reality significantly responsible for intra-Latino racialized distinctions and often enough, racial bigotry.[165] The racial ambiguity of Afro-Puerto Ricans, could be cause for intra-Latino tensions with Chicanos. "I couldn't get along with the Puerto Ricans," recalls Chicano Vietnam veteran Diego "Blind" Garcia. "I got in several fights with them. I had a *mayate* (Black) friend that used to call them imitation Chicanos and mayates. He used to call them that because he thought they were funny. He didn't think they knew whether to be black or brown. 'Somebody fucked up when they made them,' he would say. I had a problem with the

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[164] In their ethnographic study of relations between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in Chicago, Ana Ramos-Zayas and Nicholas DeGenova explore how Spanish often served as a site of "distinction and division rather than community." Ana Ramos-Zayas and Nicholas DeGenova, *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship* (London, UK: Routledge, 2004), 145.

[165] Ana Ramos-Zayas and Nicholas DeGenova, "Latino Rehearsals: Radicalization and the Politics of Citizenship between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (2003):35.

Puerto Ricans. I'd call them putos (fag), and they'd call me coño (pussy)."[166] Implicit to Garcia's narrative is his sentiment, like that of his African-American colleague, that Puerto Ricans were neither "black or brown." That is, neither African-American or Latina/o. The vulgar misogynistic epithets ("puto" and "coño") Garcia traded with his Puerto Rican opponents illustrates an intense level of mutual disdain that I would argue gestures towards anxiety over intralatino subjectivity produced from the geophysical displacement of both groups in Vietnam.

THE RANDALL REPORT

Structurally and socially, racism pervaded all levels of the military, from who received promotions to who endured epithets, insults, and demeaning treatment. Yet much of this fact was lost on the military establishment. One month after the Camp Lejeune Brawl, Hon. L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, appointed a Special Subcommittee to Probe Disturbances on Military Bases, ordering members "to determine the root causes of such conduct, the extent to which such acts have occurred on military installations, and what measures are being taken to stop such behavior."[167] Under the direction of Representative William J. Randall (D-MO) the twelve-page report outlined nine initial points, noting first "the racial problem existing at Camp Lejeune is a reflection of the Nation's racial problem" before making a

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[166] "Mayate" is a slang term, sometimes derogatory, used by Mexican-Americans in reference to a dark-skinned person or African-American. Charley Trujillo, *Soldados: Chicanos in Viet Nam* (San Jose, CA: Chusma House, 1990), 138.

[167] House Committee on Armed Forces, "Inquiry into the Disturbances at Marine Corps Base, Camp Lejeune, N. C.", on July 20, 1969, 91st Congress, 1st Session. 5051. Hereafter referred to as Randall Report.

second assertion that "the average young black marine has racial pride, drive for identity, and sensitivity to discrimination characteristic of the young black in the United States."[168] In a three-page "Background" section committee members highlighted the military's historic 1948 desegregation of the armed forces, declaring, "there is no question that the military services have long been in the vanguard of integration of the races."[169] With this initial framing, the Randall report then juxtaposed the military's esteemed reputation on race relations with the potential for "contamination" by militant African-American marines. Rich with metaphors of injury and allusions to substance abuse the committee observed:

> Today, the enlistee has more racial pride, probably more bitterness, more sensitivity to real or fancied oppression, and as one black witness stated, 'often with a chip on his shoulder.'…Because of this black self-awareness and self-determination, the new black marine has absolutely no desire to lose his identity. This, then, seems to be the young marine who enters the corps fresh from scars of all the racial trauma that is prevalent in our society….As stated at the outset, our armed services carried the original torch of integration of the United States, but must now face an even greater challenge in the battle with black militants for the minds of these young marines who may well have been exposed to an overdose of militancy prior to enlistment, and enter the corps with a mistrust of the 'white establishment.' This brotherhood, pride, and togetherness have, alarmingly, led some from integration to polarization. [170]

The report's logic held that threat to the military was not one of systemic racism. Rather, in its conclusion, the committee found the brawl did not result "from any specific provocation, but was generated by a few militant blacks who fanned the flames of racism,

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[168] Ibid.
[169] Randall Report, 5056.
[170] Ibid.

misconceptions, suspicions, and frustrations."[171] When it came to black service members' discontent, the Randall report, echoing the military establishment at large, operated with a closed aperture. Unwilling to acknowledge deeply embedded patterns of racial abuse, report authors defaulted to a narrative of infiltration by "militant blacks." If the military had once enjoyed relative immunity from the civil unrest, racial strife, and political upheavals afflicting American society, it could no longer claim such inoculation.

By 1969, a new cohort of African-American men had entered the military. Unlike their predecessors who joined the service prior to 1965, this younger generation found little solace in promises of rights and respectability conferred by the uniform. The demographic shift from older, career-oriented black soldiers to largely draftees after 1965 accounts for widespread transformations in social attitudes among black soldiers.[172] Often characterized as "militants", this younger generation came of age during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. As the war in Vietnam escalated, with larger shares of black soldiers dying on the front lines, many younger draftees began to view the military as fundamentally antithetical to their racial identity. Black draftees confronted, challenged, and eschewed earlier paradigms of black military masculinity that previously compelled generations of African-American men into military service. Black military masculinity, which recognized that American society politically and economically marginalized black men, furnished symbolic and material means for escaping discrimination. By entering military service, black GIs could lay claim to an identity of

[171] Randall Report, 5052.
[172] Michael C. Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). 39-40.

the citizen-soldier, upholding the tenets of US democracy through bodily sacrifice and struggle, even as their rights at home lay restricted by Jim Crow-style racism and white supremacy.[173]

However, changes in the timbre of the Civil Rights movement after 1965, alongside the emergence of Black Nationalism with its sharp critiques of the Vietnam War, altered the historical formulation between military service, black manhood, and citizenship. However promising, civil rights legislation passed since 1964 proved ineffectual against systemic, widespread, and seemingly insurmountable disparities in income, housing, education, healthcare, and the criminal justice system. Ironically, as the nation committed itself to legal de-segregation, new forms of racial apartheid replaced old ones. Urban areas, where increasing shares of black and Puerto Rican draftees hailed from, benefited little from the nation's post-war affluence. The post-WWII shift in federal resources to white suburbs coupled with weakened domestic allocations in favor of war spending, underwrote poor infrastructural conditions in major American cities during the same period when tens of thousands of black and white southern migrants, as well as Puerto Rican migrants, arrived in urban areas of the West, Midwest, and Northeast.[174] Teeming with influx populations malcontent over inadequate housing, limited employment, police repression, and continued racial segregation, American cities were soon engulfed in a torrent of urban revolts. Beginning in Cambridge, Maryland in 1963, urban disturbances erupted first in mid-Atlantic cities such as Harlem and Philadelphia in 1964 before spreading to the Midwest and

[173] Adrienne Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African-American Soldiers and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). 37-38.
[174] Kimberley L. Phillips, *War! What is it Good For?: Black Freedom Struggles & the U.S. Military from World War II to Iraq* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 201.

eventually West Coast. In August 1965, just five days after the signing of the federal Voting Rights Act, a brutal face-off between residents of the southern Los Angeles neighborhood of Watts and law enforcement resulted in a week-long spate of violence, in which 34 individuals died, 1,032 people sustained injuries, and more than 600 buildings were destroyed by burning and looting.[175] The next summer, in June 1966, an urban uprising nicknamed "The Division Street Riots" occurred in the Humboldt Park neighborhood of Chicago following the inaugural Puerto Rican Day Parade. The shooting of an unarmed Puerto Rican youth by a white police officer touched off decades of pent-up fury by hundreds of Puerto Rican community members. Embittered by years of residential segregation, displacement from urban renewal programs, poor schooling, and police harassment, Puerto Rican residents took to the streets in violent protest against police officers, National Guardsmen, and white business owners. A year later, the "long, hot summer" of 1967 arrived bringing forth nearly 160 urban rebellions in major cities such as Detroit, Newark, Atlanta, Boston, and Cincinnati.

The inflammatory climate of American cities was in part, ignited by long simmering resentment against the failures of civil rights reforms. In turn, many young African-Americans embraced a philosophy of Black Nationalism, defined as a tripartite ideology composed of three "orienting strategies": self-definition (cultural), self-determination (political) and self-reliance (economic).[176] Commenting to reporters in 1966, venerated civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr, remarked of Black Nationalism, "it is an

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[175] Sorin Adam Matei and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, "Watts, the 1965 Los Angeles Riots, and the Communicative Construction of the Fear Epicenter of Los Angeles," *Communication Monographs* 72, no. 3 (September 2005) 302.

[176] Patricia Hill Collins, *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006). 10.

indication of deep discontent, frustration, disappointment, and even despair among the Negro community."[177] King's observation came in response to the refusal by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), under Chairman Stokely Carmichael, to attend King's White House Conference on Civil Rights slated for June 1966. Carmichael countered, "we see integration as an insidious subterfuge for white supremacy in this country. The goal of integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what black people have to have."[178] This seminal intellectual debate between King and Carmichael not only delineated a difference of political opinion on the matter of racial integration, but also laid bare a growing generational divide between old guard civil rights leaders and younger activists. In rebuking integration as the dominant stratagem for racial equality, Black Nationalists articulated a rejection of the dominant paradigm of racial liberalism defining civil rights strategy since before the postwar era.

As the Vietnam War raged into the late 1960s, Black GI's increasingly applied the radical critiques of Black Nationalism to their personal circumstances. The military, as a tool for the State, became the direct target of their criticisms, shattering previously held ideas about black military masculinity as an antidote to racial discrimination.[179] In turn, new understandings of radicalized black masculinity privileging racial identity supplanted older notions of racial integration. More than simply adopting expressions of black pride, many Black GI's, informed by the writings of Carmichael, the Black

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[177] Austin C. Werhwein, "Dr. King Disputes Negro Separatist." *The New York Times*. May 28, 1966. A1.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Within the philosophy of Black Nationalism and Black Power, the State was the direct enemy of black liberation. See the Black Panther's Ten Point Program. Huey Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005). 123-124.

Panthers, revolutionary leader Malcolm X, and the broader anti-war movement, drew explicit connections between the war's colonial implications and their own subjugated status. Indeed, their critiques were inspired by a Black Nationalist agenda linking domestic desires for racial equality with liberation struggles emanating from Third World nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[180] Broadcasting over Radio Hanoi, Black Power advocate Robert F. Williams implored African-American soldiers to revolt, "you helpless GIs ordered by your white officers to die."[181] With greater frequency, Black GIs and other racial minorities viewed the conflict in Vietnam "as a white man's war" for which they no longer aspired to be complicit.

The dialectical process between Third World nationalisms and soldiers' acts of disobedience received support from figures like Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, who in November 1966 broadcast over Havana radio inciting Latin American students to protest the U.S. armed forces, observing, "Puerto Ricans will be sent to Vietnam as cannon fodder of Yankee imperialism."[182] Likewise, in January 1967, SNCC Chairman Carmichael traveled to Puerto Rico where, alongside members of the Puerto Rican pro-independence movement, he led 250 youths in a protest march against the Vietnam War and drafting of Puerto Ricans. Winding through the suburbs of Hato Rey and Santurce en

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[180] Cynthia A. Young, *Soul Power: Culture, Radicalism, and the Making of a U.S. Third World Left.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

[181] Williams, a former leader of the North Carolina chapter of the NAACP and strident Black Nationalist, was exiled to Cuba in 1962, where he oversaw "Radio Free Dixie"—a half-hour program addressed to Southern African-Americans. Later, Williams traveled to North Vietnam and China where he continued advocating for Black Power and promoted Third World solidarity. Henry J. Taylor, "Black Power's Puppet Masters," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), November 3, 1967. A5.

[182] AP, "Cuba hits Drafting of Puerto Ricans," *Washington Post* (Washington, DC), November 28, 1966, B5.

route to Fort Brooke, long a symbol of US military power in old San Juan, marchers drew attention to the US colonial occupation of Puerto Rico and its imperialist venture in Vietnam. For his part, Carmichael called for a "protocol of cooperation" between US-based Black Power advocates and pro-independence Puerto Rican activists to "solidify their fight against colonial domination." Added Juan Mari Bras, a San Juan based activist, both groups recognized each other "as being in the vanguard of a common struggle against United States imperialism."[183]

THE RENDER REPORT: CONTAINING "RACE MILITANCY" AND THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF GI RESISTANCE

Most of our attention, although not exclusively so, has been focused on the black minority as representative of minority problems. Not to be disregarded are the problems incurred by the Services in dealing with Spanish-surnamed Americans ~Robert Render II[184]

The task of addressing military race relations fell to Frank Render II, a 33-year old African-American educator and public servant who began his tenure with the Nixon administration in June 1970. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird personally tapped Render, then a senior research associate in urban studies at Syracuse University's Research Corp., to become Deputy Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights. Within weeks, Render took the oath of office, replacing interim director L. Howard Bennett, a former Minneapolis

[183] Homer Bigart, "Puerto Rican Nationalist Group and Carmichael Form Alliance," *New York Times* (New York, NY), January 27, 1967, 17.

[184] Frank W. Render II, to Melvin R. Laird, "U.S. Military Race Relations in Europe—September 1970." Department of Defense, U.S. November 2, 1970. Washington D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office. 7.

municipal court judge and veteran civil rights activist.[185] In succeeding Bennet, Render simultaneously became the highest-ranking civilian official *and* African-American within the DoD.[186] Considered the Pentagon's top civil rights administrator, Render's principle duties entailed crafting and enforcing equal opportunity compliance measures for civilian and military personnel, including 3.5 million active-duty troops scattered in nearly 130 countries worldwide.

Against the tide of what military brass saw as a reversion to segregation long thought over and amidst increasing levels of violence perpetuated by soldiers, Render held no less than the military's very legacy in his hands. By all conceivable measure, he had his work cut out for him. If Render possessed qualms about the Gordion knot he just inherited, he made little effort at disguising them to the press. During his July swear-in ceremony, the young civil servant demonstrated as much when responding to reporters' inquiries. With trademark candor, Render characterized the undertaking before him as an "awesome responsibility" whilst conceding, "total commitment is what I think is necessary to carry out the functions that lie ahead." Seizing this rare chance for positive publicity, Assistant Defense Secretary Roger T. Kelley deftly added, "he will set a standard for those who do business with the Department of Defense, a total empire of

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[185] Born in South Carolina , Bennett attended Fisk University, before earning his J.D. from the University of Chicago He went on to become Minnesota's first African-American judge. Among his many posts, Bennett served as president of the Minneapolis Urban League and MN chapter of the NAACP, as well as vice president of the MN United Negro College Fund. Alexia Helsley, *Wicked Edisto: The Dark Side of Eden* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014). 114.

[186] Prior to working with Syracuse, Render was the director of Syracuse's Human Relations Commission. William Chapman. "Negro Reportedly Selected for Rights Job at Pentagon." *The Washington Post*. 24 May 1970. A9.

about 20 million people."[187] Kelley's trim, but nonetheless powerful metaphor of "total empire" vividly captured the massive *scale* of U.S. military enterprise.

By 1967, the DoD boasted 1,014 U.S. overseas bases, occupying over 100 countries and principalities, and a budget of over $74 billion. It also served as the single largest employer of federal civilian officials. Under former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's helm--the hawkish, if cerebral former president of Ford Motor Company who assumed office in 1961--civilian representation within the DoD rose from 169,000 in 1960 to 1.3 million by summer 1969. Yet by the time Laird, an eight-term U.S. Congressman from Wisconsin and longtime Nixon associate succeeded Clark Clifford as Secretary of Defense in January 1969, the "empire of 20 million" was in jeopardy. With 540,000 American troops stationed in South Vietnam and another 1.2 million providing support from U.S. naval carriers based in the Philippines, and Okinawa military resources were at their straining point. So were the troops.

Just as Cold War containment logic gave rise to the "hot war" in South Vietnam, it likewise engendered radical anti-war critiques among MACV-era soldiers. The dissident tenor of the counterculture and domestic anti-war mobilization worked in tandem with a vibrant GI resistance movement flourishing aboard bases, ships, and posts. From an underground press of over three hundred GI newspapers including *A Four Year Bummer, The Last Harass, Liberated Barracks*, and *All Hands Sink the Ship* to the proliferation of GI coffeehouses in garrison towns, and individual instances of unit mutinies, with entire companies refusing to follow orders, discontent among soldiers

[187] "Top Black Civilian in Defense Department Sworn In." *Jet.* August 6, 1970. 5.

manifest in various forms, auguring for some, the potential collapse of American military empire from within. Writing in the pages of the *Armed Forces Journal,* Marine Col. Robert Heinle decried "morale, discipline, and battleworthiness of the U.S. Armed Forces are…lower or worse than at any time in the century or possibly in the history of the U.S."[188] America's war in Vietnam, he exhorted, had left the American military "in a state approaching collapse."[189] Heinle enumerated a litany of problems including drug abuse, soaring rates of desertion, combat refusal, deteriorating discipline, and racial turmoil, before making a corporeal diagnosis of military malaise, "the trouble of the services is a crisis of the soul and backbone."[190] The rise in fraggings, or the intentional killing of commissioned or non-commissioned officers (NCO's) by–fellow soldiers epitomized the breakdown of military morale.[191] A 1971 Pentagon report noted fragging incidents more than doubled between 1969-1970, from 96 to 209.[192] Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD), added, "in all the lexicon of war there is not a more tragic word than 'fragging' with all it implies of total failure of discipline and the depression of morale."[193]

Just one day after Render's appointment, four major race-related uprisings erupted on military installations across the country. On July 22, over 250 African-

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188 Col. Robert D. Heinl Jr., "Collapse of the Armed Forces," *Armed Forces Journal*, June 7, 1971.
189 *Congressional Record.(*20 April 1971). Daily ed.[10871-10876]
190 Ibid.
191 "Fragging" derives its name from the use of fragmented grenade devices thrown at or near the intended victim, often into barracks or a tent.
192 AP. "Pentagon reveals rise in fraggings,"*New York Times,* April 21, 1971.9; see also, James Westheider, *The Vietnam War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 187-188.
193 Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD). "'Fragging' in Vietnam," *Congressional Record.*(20 April 1971). Daily ed.[10871-10876]

American and Puerto Rican soldiers briefly wrested control of Fort Dix SPD in New Jersey.[194] Roiled by poor living conditions, racist conduct by white officers, and the inhumane detention of a fellow soldier in a "cage"--a steel enclosure lacking bedding and basic necessities--the GI's convened a town-hall style meeting to list grievances, but their assembly was cut short when armed MP's forcefully dispersed them. Following a week of isolated skirmishes, military authorities began a comprehensive crackdown, dispatching a 175-man riot control unit from a neighboring base to patrol the camp, issuing a 6pm curfew, and arresting 21 African-American "organizers" confined to the stockades, each facing between 2-8 years in prison for allegedly "assaulting five white GI's."[195] Four days later, two hundred mostly African-American and "Spanish-speaking" soldiers initiated a rebellion at Fort Hood, TX seizing a six-block area of the base and brawling with MP's for several hours, resulting in structural damage to multiple buildings. On August 6, fifty African American soldiers at Fort Belvoir, VA marched to MP headquarters objecting to the arrest of a fellow African-American soldier. One week later at Fort Ord, CA minority soldiers initiated a dramatic confrontation with MPs when

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[194] SPD's or "Special Processing Detachments" were minimum security facilities located on military bases, tasked with detaining and processing military personnel about to be discharged. Alternately known as SPB's or "Special Processing Battalions" each unit consisted of 800-900 mostly lower-ranked enlisted GI's, many of whom had gone AWOL or were charged with disciplinary infractions. The majority of Fort Dix SPD inhabitants were African-American and Puerto Rican soldiers. "Rebellion in SPB Ft Dix," *A Four Year Bummer*, vol. 2, no. 7, 1970.
http://www.sirnosir.com/archives_and_resources/library/articles/four_year_bummer_16.html

[195] Built by the U.S. Army in 1917, Fort Dix was notorious for its abhorrent living conditions. By the 1960s, the World War I era barracks were constructed of rotting wood (still heated by coal) with soldiers eating their meals in rat and roach infested mess halls. Of his time there in 1968, a veteran recalled, "There was then an aura of hopelessness at Ft. Dix. Paint peeled from every building. The water was rusty and didn't taste very good. In the summer, Dix was a swamp. In the winter, it was Stalingrad." Jeff Danziger, "A Dream Fulfilled: Ft. Dix Gets the Boot" *Los Angeles Times.* 20 May 1989.

dozens rallied against the arrest of two non-white soldiers by pelting MP's with rocks and later burning two mess halls to the ground.[196]

Render's first order of business came in the fall of 1970, when he was tasked with leading a three-week tour of military bases in West Germany, a site of intensely violent, racially tinged disturbances between white and non-white U.S. military personnel, as well as local civilian populations. In fact, Render's visit came on the heels of a vicious brawl between white and minority soldiers at the Army McNair Barracks in West Berlin. In an all too familiar occurrence, a fray erupted after a white soldier referred to an African-American soldier as a "nigger." The melee intensified quickly from a personal dispute to a large-scale altercation during which twenty-five GI's beat each other with wooden planks, clubs, rocks, and pipes.[197] Under the auspices of the joint Department of Defense-Military Services, Render and his 14 member-team visited U.S. Army and Air Force installations in Ramstein, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Karlruhe, Berlin, and the USECOM headquarters in Stuttgart.[198] Their mission was two-fold: assess the effectiveness of extant DoD policies relating to equal opportunity and race relations. And second, to provide recommendations for Secretary Laird as to which programs or policies should be "eliminated, instituted, modified, expanded, or changed."[199]

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[196] David Cortwright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1975). 72-73.
[197] The Berlin brawl followed less than a week after another near interracial riot of U.S. troops at Schweinfurt. Hubert J. Erb, "Racial Tensions Plague U.S. Army in Europe: 'Figure out Why." *The Washington Post*. 10 September 1976. F6.
[198] Frank W. Render II, to Melvin R. Laird, "U.S. Military Race Relations in Europe—September 1970." Department of Defense, U.S. November 2, 1970. Washington D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office. Hereafter referred to as the Render Report.
[199] Ibid, 1.

Over the next several weeks, Render and his staff followed the same basic itinerary during their three-day stopovers at each site. On the first day of their visit, team members held morning meetings reviewing DoD equal opportunity compliance measures with senior staff, NCO's, inspector generals, judge advocate generals, and local chaplains. Afternoon briefings with general staff were followed by seminar discussions with a cross-section of soldiers representing different grades, racial and ethnic backgrounds, and genders, with soldiers given the opportunity to provide feedback on interracial relations and Departmental policies and programs. "To stimulate and provoke discussion" during forums, Render's team screened the 35 minute film "Black and White Uptight" (1969). Narrated by Robert Culp, star of television's "I Spy", the short program addressed "hidden prejudices" among whites, exploring historical origins of racial bigotry, white attitudes against African-Americans, and general state of race relations in the US. Satisfied with the film's success in spurring "lively discussion" Render observed that once initiated, "the dialogue the men entered into with zest and constructive criticism."[200] In the evenings, Render and his team made "low profile" visits to on- and off-post clubs, bars, and other recreational facilities frequented by US troops.[201] During their second day, Render's team focused on meeting with troops, eating lunch with them in mess halls, providing open session dialogues with groups of fifty soldiers each, emphasizing how the office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense (DASD-CR)

[200] Render Report, 8.
[201] Render Report, 4.

could be of support to "interested troops of any race, creed, color."[202] In total, Render and his staff met with more than 5600 military personnel and their dependents from September 12th to October 7th.

If Secretary Laird and other defense officials desired an expedient solution to the problem of racial violence, Render's subsequent report did little to appease expectations. Instead, the 17-page "U.S. Military Race Relations in Europe—September 1970" offered a candid assessment and to the annoyance of many commanders, far too accurate portrayal of systemic racial abuse, volatile attitudes, and "a higher level of frustration and anger than was anticipated."[203] In particular, Render enumerated thirteen areas of concern regarding incidents of racism, including unfair treatment in work assignments disproportionately given to minorities, harassment of black and Latina/o soldiers by military police (MP's), a lack of black officers and NCO's, and a shortfall of visible minority staff in related support activities (ie PX, commissary). An eyebrow raising section titled "Export to Europe of American Racism Which Affects the Local Populace" emblematized the globalizing character of American racism. Render detailed how white military personnel--the vast majority of troops in Western Germany--threatened economic sanction against local businesses and women if "they allow blacks to frequent their establishments or associate with them" after which Render soberly concluded, "Many nationals decided to do just as requested for fear of their own economic and social salvation." With this frank conclusion, Render effectively conveyed the lived social

[202] Render Report, 5.
[203] Render Report, 7.

realities for GI's of color, for whom dating, patronizing businesses, or merely pursuing leisure off-post had become a circumscribed experience.

The transmission of US racial hierarchies and indeed, American-style racism to West Germany was hardly new. As historian Maria Höhn's work on post-World War II Germany demonstrates, US military occupation of West Germany under the Marshall Plan had long provoked anxiety over interracial encounters between black GI's and German women.[204] However, by the end of the decade, a number of factors accelerated the pace of racial tensions among US troops, whilst also inciting friction with civilian populations. Beginning in 1967, the Pentagon began using West Germany as a material and personnel reserve for Vietnam. The war's protraction resulted in a dwindling command structure, with troops stationed in West Germany guided by less than 50 percent of majors and 37 percent of captains and lieutenants.[205] Moreover, officers serving in West Germany frequently rotated every four months, weakening unit leadership and detracting from unit cohesion. Exacerbating already difficult conditions, military bases in West Germany served not only as layover sites for troops returning from Vietnam, but also as points of deployment. Bored GI's, isolated in small towns, forced to live in deteriorating barracks primarily built during the late nineteenth century or circa WWII, and still brutalized by the effects of wartime service frequently turned to drugs and alcohol. Several military studies of the era indicated that drug use among troops

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[204] Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2002)

[205] Maria, Höhn."The Racial Crisis of 1971 in the U.S. Military," 2010, in *Over There: Living with U.S. Military Empire from World War II to the Present*, ed. Maria Hohn and Seungsook Moon (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 313.

stationed in West Germany surpassed that of GI's in the US, with some 46 percent smoking hashish regularly and nearly 10-15 percent abusing heroin daily. Likewise, by 1972, the DoD was operating 84 detox centers in West Germany to address excessive alcohol consumption by GI's. Paralleling many of the conditions that led to violence at Camp Lejeune, racial tensions in West Germany proceeded apace with rising consciousness among GI's of color drawing connections between imperial US foreign policy in non-Western countries, the Vietnam War, and their own racialized subjectivity.

Indeed, Render's arrival in West Germany coincided with the height of African-American and minority soldiers' involvement with radical internationalism and Third World anti-colonial struggles sweeping the globe. In West Germany, the years 1969-1970 represented the collaborative apex between German Leftists college students, the Black Panthers, and African-American GI's.[206] Galvanized by the Vietnam War, failures of the American Civil Rights Movement, assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., and crackdown on the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the US, student activists took unprecedented steps working with Black Panther GI's stationed in Germany, eventually organizing Black Panther Solidarity Committees in German university towns also host to US military bases. Collaborating with Black GI's, they published several underground newspapers including *Voice of the Lumpen,* hosting rallies and teach-ins at German universities, and on the Fourth of July in 1970, organizing a "Call for Justice Meeting" at the University of Heidelberg attended by over 1,000 Black Panther GI's and hundreds of German supporters "indicting America for the war in Vietnam and for its unfulfilled civil

[206] Ibid, 315-317.

rights agenda."[207] As Höhn argues, German students "helped black GI's get a platform that they otherwise would not have had."[208] African-Americans were not the only group visibly engaged in demands for an end to the war and racist treatment. As Marjorie Cohn and Kathleen Gilbert remark, "at a number of bases, Latinos supported and were supported by radical black soldiers and white troops" in their own quest for dignity.[209] During winter 1969, *Variety* magazine reported on the efforts of Newsreel, a New York based activist film distribution group, in reaching out to Latina/o GI's. In late December of that year, nine Newsreel members conducted a tour of "major American troop areas" throughout West Germany, screening "The Case Against Lincoln Center", a short documentary showcasing the displacement of nearly 20,000 Puerto Rican families evicted from their homes because of the construction of Lincoln Center on Manhattan's upper West Side.[210] Working with the Socialist German Student Association, the Newsreel team also printed several editions of *We Got the Brass,* an underground GI newspaper distributed alongside *Venceremos* (We Shall Overcome), a Frankfurt based bilingual GI newspaper printed in English and Spanish "for the benefit of minority groups in the Army."[211] In collaboration with the Newswreel team, military objectors—GI resisters, student activists, and local civilians—thereafter founded The First Amendment Café, the first GI coffeehouse in Europe.

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[207]Höhn, 316. See also, Cortwright, *Soldiers in Revolt,* 93-94.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Marjorie Cohn and Kathleen Gilberd, *Rules of Disengagement: The Politics of Honor of Military Dissent* (New York: New York University Press, 2009). 95.
[210] The nine members of the Newsreel team also featured the film "In the Year of the Pig" (1968), an hour-long documentary criticizing the Vietnam War. "Anti-Viet U.S. Unit Hits GIs in Germany with Pix, Press Propaganda," *Variety*, December 1969, 1.
[211] Ibid, 16.

Taken in aggregate, such demonstrations revealed how deeply racism suffused the various branches of the services. Render's findings supported the complexity of racism's grasp in a section titled, "Universal Cry of Blacks and Other Minority Personnel to Be Treated with Respect, Dignity, and Equality." Here, Render dryly remarked that minority soldiers, including "Spanish surnamed individuals" longed "only to be treated equally was what the minorities told us." Such declarations departed from prevailing attitudes among senior military personnel insistent that the "Race Problem" illustrated attitudes of a vocal minority of radicalized black soldiers. Rather, Render suggested in his analysis, racial discrimination against soldiers of color was widespread, systemic, and a fundamental aspect of how the services functioned. Moreover, Render held military leaders accountable for casting a wide net when referring to opinionated African-Americans soldiers, noting "'Too often white leadership personnel refer to any black who asserts himself in any way as militant. It must be understood that a person who is not docile and unobtrusive is not necessarily a "militant."[212] In another section titled, "Alienation and Rebellion: A New High Level of Black Frustration and Anger" Render came to the defense of "a small corps of alienated blacks who could not be reached", situating their anger ["they told us they wanted guns, ammunition, and grenades because they felt "whitey" understood no approach other than that of violent confrontation"] as an expression of black revolutionary fervor misunderstood by military leaders and aggravated by wartime service ["they angrily told us they had no reason to be fighting in a white man's Army, in a white man's war"].

[212] Render Report, 9.

In reporting his findings to Secretary Laird, Render faced a vexing problem. On one hand, military leaders had recognized the degree to which racial violence had crippled the armed forces. In May 1969, Laird had even issued a plea in the *Air Force Times* entreating military personnel to "reject divisive and fragmenting forces and influences in our society which seek to diminish the integrity, unity, and strength of our armed forces. We must not permit any irrelevancies of race and color, nor any other factor, to divide and weaken us." [213] On the other, Render felt it incumbent to hold senior brass, including Laird himself, accountable for allowing racial discrimination to persist to the degree it had. In his principle conclusion titled "Failure of Command Leadership" Render minced few words:

> Perhaps the most overriding single factor about which there can be generalizations regarding the visible shortcomings of the Military Services in dealing with the present human relations-race relations problem is the failure in too many instances of command leadership to exercise its authority and responsibility in these areas. There certainly have been enough documents written and statements circulated that give commanders on all levels the authority and responsibility to provide for equal treatment and equal opportunity as these two methods of behavior relate to all personnel in a command. There is hereby recognized the failure of some men on various levels to provide for and monitor the equal opportunity provisions which are already part of our regulations and procedures."[214]

Within months of Render's report, Secretary Laird ordered the DOD to issue the following orders in December 1970:[215]

1. To establish an "equal opportunity" or human relations officer and a human relations council at major units.

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[213] Melvin R. Laird, "Plea to Military Men," *Air Force Times*, 21 May 1969.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Richard O. Hope, *Racial Strife in the U.S. Military: Toward the Elimination of Discrimination* (New York: Praeger, 1979). 39.

2. To develop numerical goals and timetables to increase utilization of minorities in occupations,

3. To remove or reassign officers, noncommissioned officers, and civilians who fail to act against discrimination, and

4. To give base commanders power to declare housing within the US "off limits, " without prior Pentagon approval, if landlords practiced racial discrimination.

By July 27, 1971, twelve officers from company commanders up to generals, had been relieved of command, transferred or reprimanded because of Render's findings, including General James H. Polk who served as Commander in Chief of US Army Europe (USAREUR) since 1967. But Army officials were not the only casualties of Render's report. Two months after Polk's forced retirement, Render tended his resignation under pressure from Secretary Laird, who according to a DoD spokesperson, had been angered by the aggressive tone of Render's findings. According to this same spokesperson, Laird "and some opponents of Render's were ready to lower the boom on him" angered that his investigation resulted in the dismissal of so many top key military aides.[216] In total, Render spent 14 months with the DoD, unearthing racial abuse so profound among some troops of color, they had been reduced to "verbal paroxysm" in his presence, unable to articulate how thoroughly entrenched their experiences of discrimination were. Though his time with the Pentagon was brief, Render had made clear that the Army could no longer continue to hold steadfast to its colorblind policy of purposefully disregarding racial discrimination.

In June 1971, Secretary Laird published DOD Directive 1322.11 the "Department of Defense Education in Race Relations for Armed Forces Personnel" policy codifying

[216] "Top Pentagon Official Quits; Says Laird Angered by Probes of GI Abuses." *Jet.* September 1971.5.

many of Render's recommendations, and establishing the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), a mandatory training center for education in race relations, the creation of race relations/equal opportunity (RR/EO) staffs, and the formulation of new policies regarding equality of treatment in the Armed Forces designed to prevent "racial unrest, tension, or conflict" from disrupting "combat readiness and efficiency."[217]

CONCLUSION

The racial violence that peaked in the military between 1968-1970 dislodged official narratives heralding the USAF as a racially egalitarian institution. Outbreaks of racial violence, as this chapter has demonstrated, emerged against the intransigence of military bureaucracy towards effecting meaningful change in the domain of race relations. For GI's of color, contradictions between the professed equality of the military and their own subordinated status within it, speaks to the larger failures of democratic racial liberalism Guy Gabaldón diagnosed when repudiating his Silver Cross in 1969 and further confirmed by Robert Render's 1970 report. As domestic and internal confidence in the US military waned, the DOD grew intent upon bettering its tarnished record on race relations whilst also addressing the significant ideological fissures engendered by GI protest. As we will see in the following chapters, shifting U.S. military manpower needs demanded new kinds of racial work; a more expansive racial framework that can be traced via the USAF's evolving treatment towards and reception of Latina/o GI's.

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[217] This same directive also established the DoD Race Relations Education Board (RREB) to serve as an advisory board to the Secretary of Defense and operated under the control of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs—ASD (M&RA) Roger T. Kelley. Hope, *Racial Strife*, 41.

CHAPTER TWO

"Getting *There*": Military Multiculturalism, the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI), and 'the Biggest Minority', 1971-1973

"*Little by little, the Hispanic American is gaining more acceptance and understanding in American society.*[218]

Introduction

Speaking on "Hispanics" in the September 1975 issue of *Soldiers* magazine, Army SPC Carmen Laboy, a Women's Army Corps (WAC) member from Bayamón, Puerto Rico, observed, "I've seen a lot of advancement—like the Black people are getting ahead now. I think the Spanish people are a little behind because we didn't use as much force. *But we're getting there*."[219] Laboy's statement encapsulates a principal theme of this chapter. Following the social change movements and global political upheavals of the late 1960s, reaching "there"— an elusive, fabled point of parity in US race relations looked promising, but not inevitable. If the dissolution of *de jure* racial segregation just a decade earlier signaled national resolve towards consigning racism to the past, it likewise meant constructing, engendering, and instantiating new social paradigms, infrastructures, and modes of thought for addressing legacies of racial inequality.

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[218]SFC Floyd Harrison, "Hispanic Americans Speak Up" *Soldiers*, (September 1975), 23-27. The article employs "Hispanic Americans" and "Spanish Americans" interchangeably.

[219] Ibid. Created in 1948, the Women's Army Corps. (WAC) was a separate branch of the U.S. Army until 1978. Leisa Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Womens Army Corps. during World War II* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996). On the significant role played by Puerto Rican women in the WAC, see Carmen Rosado Garcia, *Las Wacs*: participación de la mujer boricua en la Segunda Guerra Mundial (Puerto Rico, s.n., 2007).

At the dawn of the 1970s, race, and its corresponding socio-material effects reverberated throughout the U.S. military in unprecedented ways. Still ailing from a torrent of race-related riots emanating from the Vietnam War and with its own increasingly multiracial future in mind, the Department of Defense established the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) in September 1971. Opening its doors at Patrick Air Force Base in eastern Florida, the DRRI operated under a mandate of ameliorating racial tensions. It began with a staff of thirty military personnel: eight from the Army and Navy, nine from the Air Force, and nineteen civilians. Its initial class of 100 students, drawn from all branches of the armed services and all ranks, would concentrate on achieving "a more harmonious relationship among all military personnel" through an intensive six-week regimen of racial and ethnic studies courses concentrating on "Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and the impoverished whites of Appalachia."[220] The institute aimed to train 1400 military instructors each year. Known as "equal opportunity advisors" (EOA's) they would then be tasked with teaching an eighteen-hour a year program in their respective command units required of all future military personnel.

Histories of the DRRI generally traffic in triumphantalism, depicting it as "the manifestation of a benevolent DoD heeding the concerns of black personnel and the larger civil rights movement."[221] Though the DRRI attracted interest by "many military researchers during the 1970s," its place within the broader history of US race relations remains under-

[220] Dana Adams Schmidt, "Military Race Relations Institute Will Open in Florida in October" *New York Times*. June 26, 1971. 13.
[221] Say Burgin, 'The Most Progressive and Forward Looking Race Relations Experiment in Existence': Race 'Militancy', Whiteness, and DRRI in the Early 1970s," *Journal of American Studies* 49, no. 3 (August 2015): 558.

examined.[222] By contrast, this chapter takes a more critical approach to examining the DRRI's role as an architect of racialized military subjectivity. Racialized military subjectivity refers to an analytical category at the intersection of three social forces: legacies of racial liberalism that sought to institutionalize minority racial difference; distinctions between civilian and military identity; and materio-symbolic associations between "enhanced citizenship" and military service. Racialized military subjectivity is constituted through its subjects, and thus, imbricated within a sense of self, linked to techniques of governing that shape subjects in accordance with how they are and have historically been positioned within hierarchies of citizenship and the nation-State.

On the eve of an impending transition to an All-Volunteer Force in July 1973, military officials grudgingly acknowledged that the face of the military was changing, with a growing proportion of African-Americans and to a lesser extent, Latina/os joining the ranks in the years to come. But Third World de-colonial movements and freedom struggles in the US fractured the historical alliance between citizenship, military service, and racial incorporability once central to post-war narratives of uplift, respectability and equality for racial minorities. The ideological dissonance between race and martial citizenship, imbued by ambivalence toward the state, obliged military authorities to intensify those practices which would ensure compliance to and belief in the Armed Forces as an exceptional site of liberal multicultural pluralism.

Following Foucault, governmentality comprises subjectification or subject formation, whereby the 'art of governing' utilizes tactics to arrange things or individuals

[222] Burgin, The Most Progressive", 559.

into useful Subjects as a means of ensuring the interests of and efficient management by the State. Subjectivity emerges as an effect of discursive regimes of power/knowledge predicated on the art of governing. Foucault's interest in the discursive production of the subject explicates how subjects come to be and which discourses are involved in that formation. For Foucault, discursive power: "Applies itself to immediate everyday life" and works by how it "categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth in him that he must recognize and others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power that makes individuals subjects."[223]

In "The Discourse on Language," Foucault states, "education may be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society...can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle-lines of social conflict. Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of a discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.[224] Here, Luis Althusser's concept of interpellation and the creation of identity based on one's engagement with agents or apparatuses of the nation-state becomes useful. Althusser contends, "the school, but also other State institutions like the Church, or other apparatuses like the Army teaches 'know how,' but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the

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[223] Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in J.D. Fabion (ed) *Power: The Essential Works of Foucault, 1953-1984, Vol. 3* (London: Penguin Press, 1977). 138.

[224] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), 227.

mastery of its practices.[225] The institution is an apparatus for (re) producing power relations, inscribing particular discourses onto the experiences of the bodies that inhabit these spaces.

This framework allows for an analysis about what types of discursive knowledge took precedence at the DRRI. This chapter argues the DRRI inscribed a particular type of racialized military subjectivity that simultaneously affirmed racial difference, whilst attenuating oppositional currents underwriting calls for social and epistemological change that directly confronted, challenged, and disrupted those modes of hegemonic power operated and maintained at the level of the nation-state.[226] In his study of the origins of interdisciplinary and/or ethnic studies programs enacted on university campuses during the 1970s, Roderick Ferguson argues such efforts worked to "simultaneously activate and disenfranchise minorities, subjects, and communities, forming and re-forming institutions according to the advancement and regulation of minority difference."[227] In the aftermath of race related riots, the DoD established the DRRI to: "develop doctrine and curricula in education for race relations, conduct research, perform an evaluation of the program effectiveness and disseminate educational guidelines and materials for utilization throughout the Armed Forces.[228] This chapter is thus concerned with how the DRRI utilized racial discourse (marshaled race) emerging from antiracist, anti-colonial, and black liberationist

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[225] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays. 1971.* Trans. Ben Brewster. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001). 85-126. 89.
[226] Omi and Winant argue US state institutions responded to the social movements of the sixties and seventies, that is, political pressures of antiracist movements by adopting policies of "absorption." *Racial Formation in the United States*, 86.
[227] Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Re-Order of Things: The University and its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012). 40.
[228] "DRRI: Equal Opportunity Training School," *Commanders Digest.* 13 (18 January 1973): 2.

social movements of the late 1960s. It argues, that much like university systems during the era, the DRRI selectively appropriated and co-opted the grammar of racial difference (ie "cultural pluralism") in service to three broader aims: bolstering the military's image as an emblem of multiracial tolerance; mitigating structural critiques against the military's utilization of soldiers of color; and advancing a platform of liberal racial inclusion aligned with the State's need to ensure adequate manpower for the military.

Regarding Latina/os, the DRRI acted as one of the earliest sites of Latina/o Studies pedagogy. In so doing, it mimicked broader federal preoccupations with consolidating and addressing the diverse heterogeneous composition of the US Latina/o populace—an amalgamation of disparate national-origins, ethno-racial identities, language proclivities, cultural traditions, immigrant/generational statuses, socio-economic conditions, regional concentrations, political orientations, religious affiliations, etc. The DRRI's "La Raza" program of study proceeded apace with early attempts by US policy-makers at formally recognizing the political demands and claims for historical redress by US Latina/os. In this chapter, I argue that the DRRI's "La Raza" studies course, informed by the era's broader groundswell of cultural nationalist movements and embrace of Third World anti-colonial struggles by US racial minorities, operated as an informal template for organizing federal response to US Latina/os. Likewise, the "La Raza" course plan helped augur the development of a Latina/o demographic profile that would directly impact outreach, recruitment, and treatment of Latina/o military personnel throughout the 1970s and following decades during which the USAF transitioned to an All-Volunteer Force (AVF).

DRRI: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TRAINING SCHOOL, 1971-1973

"Education in the dynamics of difference is one of the most important stages the Department of Defense has undertaken. Most people enter military service with insufficient knowledge of, and appreciation for, the culture, history, experiences, and sensitivities of other races to enable them to function well in a multiracial environment."[229]

Among residents of Cocoa Beach, Florida an affluent beachside resort town twenty miles south of Cape Canaveral and the John F. Kennedy Space Center, the DRRI was not a welcome addition. Local inhabitants, mostly white and conservative, took to calling the new facility "Razor Blade Tech" and "Watermelon University"—derisive terms intended to let DRRI staff, half of whom were non-white, know just how little their presence was cared for.[230] Such epithets were a common indicator of the era's racial climate, particularly in the aftermath of violent racial turbulence within the Armed Forces. Still, institute directors were hopeful that their experiment, the most ambitious race relations program of its time, would stem the tide of racial violence that had rocked the services in recent years.

Under DRRI Director, Air Force Col. Russell L. Ryland, the institute held six objectives (see Appendix A) with educational programs concentrating on two specific areas: Minority Studies and Behavioral Sciences. During their six weeks of training, students would spend up to seventy-three classroom hours studying psychological, social, and cultural factors directly related to race relations; forty-two hours to community involvement activity; and twenty-four hours for orientation, testing, and evaluation. The heart of the program rested on close-knit seminars of approximately twenty students led by faculty advisors acting as

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[229] Melvin R. Laird, "Equal Opportunity and Race Relations in the Department of Defense." *Commander's Digest.* 12.2 (18 May 1972):1-2.

[230] Unaccustomed to seeing African-Americans in the community, local police often stopped them on the street, and in several cases, arrested African American DRRI personnel. Charles S. Moskos and John Sibley Butler, *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1996). 56.

liaisons during seminar sessions, and also as faculty advisors to individual pupils. Instructors placed emphasis on "heterogeneous cohorts" with members ranging from mid-rank to senior officers, educational levels from high school to doctoral degrees, ages from 19-40, and of all races and ethnic backgrounds, all with the aim of fostering "growth, understanding, and awareness through association and interaction."[231] According to Dr. Frank Montalvo, a DRRI faculty supervisor and clinical psychologist, "These people [students] were recruited from the field, anything from cooks to infantrymen, they weren't people with academic backgrounds. So it was very much a grassroots, bootstrap program we were creating."[232]

The "equal status contact" dimension of seminar classes, including use of first names, constituted a radical departure in military practice, traditionally defined by a rigid hierarchical structure. It was one of many such innovations designed by Director of Research and Evaluation, Dr. Richard O. Hope, an African-American sociologist on leave from Brooklyn College who believed in fostering student engagement through rigorous small group discussion sessions. Born into a family of academics, Hope's grandfather, John Hope, served as the first African American president of Morehouse College, after whom the historian John Hope Franklin was named. Richard's father, John Hope II, an economist at Fisk University throughout the 1940s, played an instrumental role in developing Fisk's Race Relations Institute upon which the DRRI would later be modeled. Working with sociologist Dr. Charles Johnson, the first African-American president of Fisk, in 1944 Hope II helped launch an annual three-week conference called the Race Relations

[231] Hope, *Racial Strife,* 43.
[232] Frank F. Montalvo, interview by the author, San Antonio, TX, April 21, 2016.

Institute that brought together leading northern and southern liberal scholars of race relations. As the younger Hope recalled, "I nearly ate and slept things regarding this institute before I left for college at Morehouse."[233] Having grown up in the company of notable African-American leaders, including A. Phillip Randolph, Thurgood Marshall, and Johnson, Richard Hope brought years of practical experience and knowledge to the DRRI. As a youth, he helped organize several chapters of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Atlanta, alongside close friends Julian Bond and Marian Wright Edelman. While in Georgia, Hope formed a close relationship with civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., with whom he participated in several freedom marches. Later, while a student at the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, Hope served as King's chauffeur when King visited in 1957.[234] Deeply influenced by his training at Highlander and Fisk, Hope recalled, "The Race Relations Institute at Fisk University became the Defense Race Relations Institute in the military."[235]

An opponent of the Vietnam War and suspicious of the military's commitment to racial sensitivity, Hope had to be convinced to take the position at DRRI. In the end, it was former DoD Assistant Secretary of Defense, L. Howard Bennett, a close colleague of Johnson's that persuaded Hope:

> Hubert Humphrey came to him [Bennett] and said, "solve this problem." First thing he did was call me on the phone. He basically recruited me to be the

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233 Quoted in Isaac Hampton II, *The Black Officer Corps: A History of Black Military Advancement from Integration Through Vietnam* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 126.

234 Founded in 1932, the Highlander Folk School was an adult community-learning center based on Danish folk schools of the 1900s. Throughout the 1950's and early 60's, it served as a leadership-training center for southern civil rights activists, including Rosa Parks, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., John Lewis, Ralph Abernathy, and members of SNCC.

235 Quoted in Hampton II, *The Black Officer Corps*, 127.

> intellectual organizer of this thing. To my mind, the solution to the systemic nature of the problems of race and ethnicity and the riots as it were, is education. I came there and started listing ridiculous things. Meaning that one, there had to be universal inter-group training of military personnel throughout the world and that it should be compulsory. And it should start from top down and to my surprise, they said, "fine." That showed the level of desperation. The race riots were in fact destroying the bases and it almost destroyed a battleship carrier. The level of problems at that time were pretty severe. The riots would start over simple things…For instance, if a person from West Virginia wanted to play hillbilly music and a fellow from Mississippi wanted to play blues, you'd have a fight.[236]

Hope's unorthodox curriculum, and emphasis on small group contact sometimes yielded "awfully heated" confrontations.[237] According to Air Force Lt. Col. Ken McDonnell, an instructor alongside Air Force Sgt. Bob Stitt, "We often walk a thin line between what's a reasonable emotional argument and what's a transgression on military discipline. We've seen arguments where a black or Chicano enlisted man might call a high ranking white officer a 'honky.' That can be a sticky situation." But Hope discouraged intervention, instead suggesting students air their grievances openly and without fear of reprimand. "Bob and I just sit quiet and let the problem solve itself, because the participants recognize the arguments as honest expressions of feelings and let a lot of things go by the board they wouldn't outside of class." According to Hope, the confrontational style of seminar courses could result in the "isolation" of an individual, enough for them to reflect upon the "impact" of their own prejudices.[238] As Hope recalls, "If you look at the early curriculum, I began the training with a discussion of the self and social interaction. I pushed hard for that, to link what they were about to hear in more practical terms with what we know about social

[236] John Hope, interview by the author, phone interview, April 5, 2016.
[237] Race Relations Institute Strives for lasting peace." *Rome News-Tribune* (Nov. 24, 1972) 12. Hampton II, *The Black Officer Corps,* 126.
[238] Hope, *Racial Strife*, 43; 50-51.

interactions."[239] But Hope also anticipated student resistance, acknowledging "Even if someone goes in with a chip on his shoulder because the course is mandatory, it won't hurt. Pretty soon he'll start arguing about being forced to be there, then about the reasons why he has to be there, and once he does that, you've got him. He progresses from argument to taking part because he gets interested in spite of himself.[240]

Much of the DRRI's early curriculum focused on reviewing procedural aspects of military equal opportunity policies, directives, and regulations. Among military authorities, the prevailing consensus held that enough mechanisms were already in place for addressing race relations and racial inequality. But former Petty Officer 3rd class Alan Canady, then a student at DRRI, disagreed: "There was just no wheel for the higher echelons to have better race relations across the forces. Why? Well, there wasn't a need to understand other races, because we all wanted to conform to this one standard. The belief was that we didn't need to understand everyone else."[241] As Canady's quote reveals, "conformity" entailed racial assimilation as a precondition for military identity—a presumed homogenous, proto-nationalist orientation absent of divergent political convictions, class variance, or ethno-racial distinctiveness.

The DRRI curriculum's second phase concentrated on interpreting, affirming, and understanding US histories of race and race relations. In her study of the DRRI, Say Burgin argues the institute's racial framework "had a surprisingly radical bent" for its emphasis on white complicity in perpetuating racism, but also accentuating how whites could be involved

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[239] Hope, interview by the author.
[240] Race Relations Institute Strives for lasting peace *Rome News-Tribune* (Nov. 24, 1972) 12.
[241] Alan Canady, Interview by author, San Antonio, TX May 3, 2016.

in the process of transformative racial justice.[242] As Burgin documents, one of the most influential texts required by course instructors was Robert Terry's 1970 book, *For Whites Only,* an anti-racism manual emerging from Terry's work organizing antiracism training events with the Detroit Industrial Mission (DIM), a non-profit, Christian based consulting group working towards racial justice in the aftermath of the Detroit race rebellion of July 1967. The DIM openly adopted from the language of Black Power activists like Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver. In effect, "Terry's book provided a backdoor into Black Power for DRRI"—a way to incorporate tenets of Black Nationalism without incurring opposition from conservative military authorities who feared the radical dimensions of pedagogy informed by controversial figures like Carmichael.[243] As demonstrated in the previous chapter, understanding and interpreting "black militancy" was a key motivator for DRRI officials, who surreptitiously integrated Black Nationalist writings into their curriculum. In addition to *For Whites Only*, students were required to read Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* (1968), the best-selling collection of writings by the former Black Panther Party (BPP) leader and Minister of Information.[244] Consisting of autobiographical vignettes, social and political critiques, and riffs on popular culture, including jazz and the fictional character of James Bond, in searing prose, *Soul* explored topics of sexuality, prison life, race, black masculinity, interracial relations, and anti-colonialism. Considered a primer on Black American identity, white liberals and New Left activists embraced Cleaver's memoir in large part for its rhetorical appeal to white

[242] Burgin, "'The Most Progressive and Forward," 565.
[243] Burgin, "The Most Progressive and Forward" 566.
[244] Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1968)

youth, situating them as allies within the Black Revolutionary imaginary: "That growing numbers of white youth are repudiating their heritage of blood and taking people of color as their heroes and models is a tribute not only to their insight but to the resilience of the human spirit."[245] The use of both Terry and Cleaver's texts attest to the DRRI's early emphasis on problematizing whiteness and their advocacy of what Terry termed "new white consciousness"—the belief that whites had to come to terms with their individual and collective culpability in perpetuating racism.

Students were required to take Race Relations Instructor (RRI) Course 3260, "New White Consciousness" a three-hour seminar whose lesson objective was "to have each student understand that the race problem must be shifted from minorities to whites."[246] Desired learning outcomes for the course, taught by instructor Walter Healey Jr, included: 1) for each white student to understand that he is 'white' 2) to understand the role the "white liberal" has played 3) to understand the goals of the individual in the race relations program 4) to understand the viciousness portrayed through the racism cycle. In addition to reading excerpts from *For Whites Only* and *The Rightness of Whiteness: The World of the White Child in Segregated Society* (1969) students in RRI 3260 read from Terry's short essay, "Active New Whiteness: Lighting a Damp Log" in which Terry articulated the primary tenets of white consciousness:

> One of the positions most frequently encountered in whites is the individualistic response—'I'm not a racist, I never intentionally did anything to harm black people. And don't try and make me feel guilty for the past. I'm not responsible for

[245] Cleaver, *Soul on Ice,* 105.
[246] Box 2. DRRI Lesson Plans, 1973. Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), Patrick AFB, FL.

> what others did or do today.' This atomistic view of the self, ignoring rootage in and interdependence with culture and social institutions, is of course, inadequate. New consciousness and behavior are possible and become a power force when individuals are united in active collectivities. One can be an active racist or bigot. This is one who aggressively tries to keep white power and privilege in place. Once can be a passive racist or a conformist. This is the person who says that he/she has never personally done anything wrong but in fact does nothing to fight the status quo. *Finally, one could be an active racist anti-racist or a new white.* The reason for the racist anti-racist designation is to acknowledge the hard reality that while one is trying to eliminate white skin privilege one is also receiving short term benefits from it. It is also stated that the way to remind us that new white consciousness is not a state of being but rather a process of becoming. No one is a total new white, but one is on the way toward new whiteness. There is no such thing as a passive antiracist. They do not exist because to be passive in America is to be racist. Most whites want to be passive anti-racists. I used to think my task in race was to get bigots to move to a neutral or non-destructive stance. I now feel that the more urgent task is to get conformists in motion on an active anti-racist agenda. It seems more politically possible and more fruitful.[247]

In embracing Terry's philosophy, the DRRI emphasized that white service personnel had a direct role to play in confronting racism within the military. Informed by Black Power ideology, DRRI officials charged white supremacy had been maintained by whites and white-dominated institutions and thus, the onus of responsibility for changing racist patterns of behavior and systems of race-based oppression, lay primarily with whites themselves. Lesson plans were designed utilizing a "disruptive" pedagogical framework. For example, students in RRI 3260 participated in the "Drawbridge Exercise" wherein they read aloud from the short story of a Baroness who - despite orders by her husband (the Baron) not to leave their castle - pays a servant so that she can leave the castle to visit a lover one night. En route back to the castle, she is killed by a madman after she unsuccessfully pursues help from her Lover, a boatman, and a friend. An allegory, each character symbolized a

[247] Excerpt, Bob Terry, "Lighting a Damp Log" in "RRI Course 3260: New White Consciousness", pg. 8-9. Box 2, DRRI Lesson Plans, 1973. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.

social entity: The Baron represented white society; the Baroness depicted racial minorities; The Boatman personified Institutions; the Friend portrayed White Liberals; The Lover embodied white materialistic values; the Madman stood as an expression of law enforcement/military.[248] To critically engage with the story's main themes, students were asked to rank the characters (1-6) in "the order of their responsibility for the death of the Baroness" and then discuss the story's broader implications. [249] Course instructors were encouraged to explain how white society becomes "the hero" with the role of the madman.

In adopting "new white consciousness" as a central analytical platform, DRRI course instructors directly challenged widely held preoccupations with "black militancy" as the constitutive factor for much of the violent outbreaks the armed forces experienced between 1969 and 1972. While military leaders consistently reacted with apprehension towards Black Power ideology, DRRI espoused many of its principle claims. For example, though DRRI officials did not explicitly use Stokely Carmichael's and Charles V. Hamilton's *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967) in their curriculum, they nonetheless drew heavily from Carmichael and Hamilton's analysis of institutional racism, or the ways in which racism was deeply embedded within US social conventions.: "Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two, closely related forms: individual whites acting against individual blacks, and acts by the total white community

[248] "RRI Course 3260: New White Consciousness", pg. 7 Box 2, DRRI Lesson Plans, 1973. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.
[249] Ibid.

against the black community. We call these individual racism and institutional racism."[250] In *The Commanders Notebook on Race Relations* a March 1972 booklet distributed by the DRRI to Commanders of the Army, Navy, and Air Force Units (regular and reserves), DRRI invoked Carmichael and Hamilton's distinction between individual and institutional racism. In section III "THE PROBLEM: Use of violence as a solution to racial grievance," the DRRI held firm that "Racial Discrimination, intended or not, does exist in the United States Armed Forces today. There is evidence of this at all levels and it takes two general forms: A) Personal Racism and B) Institutional Racism." Rebuking the still popularly held stance that military desegregation had ended racism within the armed forces, the booklet's authors asserted, "it failed to reach the roots of covert institutional racism and this is where the heart of the problem lies."[251] Because much of the military racial violence experienced within the tumultuous late 1960s had been blamed on "militant blacks", the DRRI made it a point to invert such claims: "The whole question of race relations in our country pervades so much of social life that is not possible to have been brought up in America without having learned some unconscious as well as conscious behavior toward minority groups that is offensive to them and evokes negative reaction."[252] *The Commander Notebook* went on to provide a comprehensive annotated bibliography of suggested readings that included the U.S. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968); *Racism in*

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[250] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. (New York: Random House, 1967). 4.
[251] "The Commanders Notebook on Race Relations/ March 1972." p 2. Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook & Student Guide. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.
[252] "Commander's Notebook" p. 3 Ibid.

America and How to Combat It (1970), noting "it will lend to a clear understanding of Racism, and how white society has profited from it"; *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1964); labor historian Ernesto Galarza's *Mexican-American People* (n.d.) and Native American historian Vine Deloria Jr.'s *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1970).

Black Power ideology suffused the early DRRI curriculum beyond Terry's focus on "new white consciousness." Addressing misunderstandings about what constituted Black Power, several other courses featured writings by prominent African-American intellectuals as a way of presenting the cultural ethos of Black Nationalism, with its emphasis on black pride, Afro-American history, and black aesthetics. Course 3230, "Signs and Symbols" a three-hour seminar taught under the Minority Studies Division, was designed to foster greater awareness about black culture, identity, and practices that were seemingly misinterpreted by white dominant culture. In the introduction to the *Signs and Symbols Reference Book*, DRRI authors noted, "Whether we agree with different value systems or not is irrelevant. What is relevant to our mission is that we get an understanding of as many cultures and value systems as possible so that we can transmit this knowledge to others."[253] Readings for this course included African-American sociologist Adrian Dove's "Soul Story", a short story wherein Dove challenged a white employer who would not hire an "unqualified black." Laced with brief paragraphs describing facets of black culture, such as "Dozens—playing the A contest to see which young brother can remember or make up the greatest number of obscene, rhymed

[253] Reference Book 3-2-1, "Signs and Symbols" p. 2. Box 1 DRRI Curriculum/ Reference Books. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.

couplets reflecting on the opponent's parents," Dove's essay served as an early template for his infamous "Chitling Test"—an aptitude test designed to expose cultural bias in IQ testing, privileging familiarity with black cultural practices and which the DRRI later used in several other courses. The *Signs and Symbols* reference book also featured a reprint of "The Trouble With" an article by SP5 Tom Bailey from *Soldiers* magazine, wherein Bailey dissected the "signs, symbols, and myths" of black culture:

> BLACK POWER
> Whites hearing this term associate it with riots and turbulence in the cities. I'm sure it frightens them. They become uptight because they feel that any two individuals giving and returning the black power salute might be connected with some movement that might lead to the overthrow of the established order. The definition of black power, however, is black empowerment and political power: economic power where blacks control the flow of money and trade within their own community, and political power to elect individuals who will speak for all their people. Black power connotes the opportunity to participate in everything that goes on this country on an equal basis.

In similar fashion, Bailey's five-page article proceeded to describe the: "Black Power Salute"; "Black Power Handshake"; "Bracelet"; "Afro Haircut"; "The Unity Thing"; "Black is Beautiful"; "Nigger"; "Honky"; "Uncle Tom"; "Negro Men are Studs"; "Blacks are Violent"; and "Blacks are Lazy." Bailey's article was followed by African-American writer and poet Amiri Baraka;s essay, "A Black Value System" illustrating the seven principles of Kawaida (Swahili for "tradition") a quasi-religious pan-African philosophy advocated by Malauna Karenga, a prominent black nationalist and founder of US—United State/United Slaves.[254]

[254] See Michael Simanga, *Amiri Baraka and the Congress of African People: History and Memory* (New York, NY: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2015).

Figure 1. Cover of Fanon Reader, DRRI. Box 3, "Required Readings." DEOMI, Patrick AFB

Owing to its intellectual engagement with Black Nationalism, the DRRI curriculum utilized the work of Frantz Fanon, the Martinique-born psychiatrist and philosopher whose writings on anti-colonialism provided an informal blueprint for international liberation movements throughout the mid-1960s.[255] In his seminal work, *Wretched of the Earth* (1965) Fanon explored developments in the Algerian battle for independence against French colonialism, using a Marxist analysis of colonial revolt against European imperialism and concentrating on the psychic effects of colonialism. Black Power advocates, anti-war activists, and Third World nationalists employed Fanon's writings in *Wretched* to analyze institutional racism in the US. Drawing on Fanon, they argued the US paralleled European colonial powers, through its implementation of hierarchies of racial difference as an edifice upon which US social structures were built. Institutional racism operates as a colonial apparatus, establishing

[255] Hope was himself influenced by Fanon after spending a semester in Senegal while a student at Morehouse College in the 1960s. Accordingly, he "brought back many of those linkages." Hope, interview by the author.

and authorizing racial demarcations as the basis for social relations of power. According to cultural nationalists, the persistent racism Americans of color were subject to constituted them as internally colonized subjects—de facto second-class citizens, excluded by poverty, segregation, de-territorialization, and social marginalization. Of course, Fanon was not the first scholar to diagnose or even coin the term, "internal colonialism."

As an analytical model for systems of racial domination and subordination, internal colonialism had its origins with Latin American development economists in the 1950's who sought the context behind asymmetrical terms of trade between Third World and First World nations. In this sense, internal colonialism emerged as a corollary to dependency theory, in its preoccupation with uneven economic development and domestic poverty.[256] Academically, the internal colonialism paradigm became widespread after publication of sociologist Robert Blauner's 1969 article, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt", later refined for a chapter in his 1972 book, *Racial Oppression in America*.[257] In it, Blauner contested the popularly received post-WWII American paradigm privileging European sociological thought, along with its attendant

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[256] Ramon Gutierrez credits Mexican sociologist Ramon Gonzalez Casanova as having been the first to publish the term "internal colonialism" in his study of the racialized economic dimension between dominant Mexican mestizo (mixed race) classes and subordinated indigenous populations. Ramon Gonzalez-Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development." *Studies in International Comparative Development*. 1.4 (1965) 27-37. See also, Ramon Gutierrez, "Internal Colonialism: An American Theory of Race." *DuBois Revew* 1:2 (2004). 284.

[257] In his assessment of racial oppression in the US, Blauner cited the influence of several Latin American dependency theorists including Gonzalez-Casanova. Likewise, he cited the work of Carmichael and Hamilton in *Black Power* (Chapter One, "White Power: the Colonial Situation"), Albert Memmi's *The Colonizer and the Colonized* and African American sociologist Harold Cruse's *Rebellion or Revolution.* Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt." *Social Problems,* 4/1969. Vol. 16, Issue 4.

focus on analogies of immigration and cultural assimilation. Instead, Blauner described the historical conditions by which American racial minorities constituted an internal colony:

> The third world perspective returns us to the origins of the American experience, reminding us that this nation owes its very existence to colonialism, and that along with settlers and immigrants there have always been conquered Indians and black slaves, and later defeated Mexicans-that is colonial subjects on national soil.[258]

Blauner linked the domestic colonized status of American racial minorities—African-Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans--to the dependence of American culture and social structure on highly racialized definitions of [White and other] identity categories, noting that "racism as a system of domination is part of the complex of domination."[259] While DRRI officials did not explicitly use Blauner's essay, they nonetheless emphasized Blauner's point about the "enormous fatefulness of the historical factor."[260] To this end, courses in the Minority Studies Division bloc (66 hrs) emphasized the distinct historical experiences of US racial groups as separate and unique from European-American history. As Hope noted, "Much of our curriculum was not that based on traditional theories of race relations or ethnic relations. We had to make sure that the curriculum linked to what individuals would be seeing back at their installations. For example, we couldn't talk

[258] Robert Blauner, *Racial Oppression in America* (New York, NY: Harper and Rowe, 1972). 52.
[259] Blauner, *Internal Colonialism*, 396.
[260] Ibid.

about Polish peasants in Chicago. We had to be responsive to immediate needs and work backwards."[261]

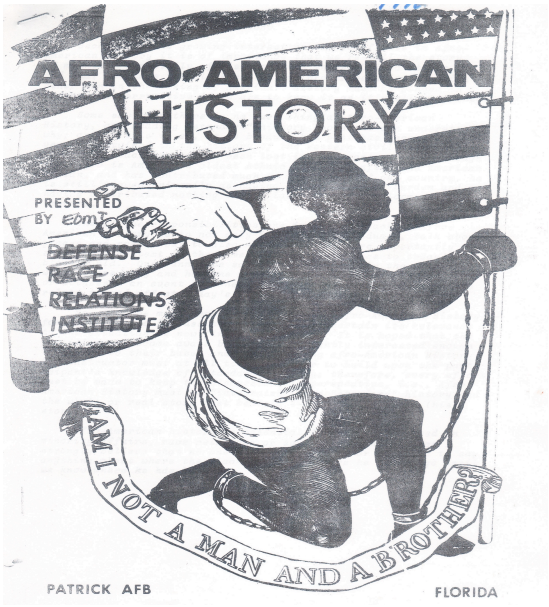

Figure 2: Cover of DRRI "Afro-American History" Reader. Image reprint of "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" (1787) medallion engraving by Josiah Wedgewood; official seal of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in England. Minority Studies Division, Box 3, Required Readings. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.

The Black Studies component consisted of twelve hours of study dedicated to Afro-American history, reviewing the trajectory of slavery, Jim Crow Era, and the "Separate but Equal" period, followed by six hours of instruction titled "With All Deliberate Speed," surveying major civil rights events between 1954 and 1968, including civil rights legislation, the rise of Black Power Movements, and urban disturbances. Nine

[261] In referencing "Polish peasants" Hope was referring to William Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's 1918 monograph, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1918) one of the earliest texts produced out of the Chicago School of Sociology. Hope, interview by the author.

hours were dedicated to "Black Servicemen" chronicling the history of African-American service personnel from the colonial era to Vietnam, and "the emergence of the black soldier's identity."[262] The final six hours of instruction concentrated on "Contemporary (Continuing) Black Thought" providing instructional information on Black leaders and movements from the early 1960s through the contemporary period, "exploring the Social and political issues, affecting the thinking, values, and attitudes of young Black men and women."[263] Notable readings for "Black Contemporary Thought" included: *Black Rage* (1968) by psychiatrists William Grier and Price Cobbs; Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967); Franz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1961); Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969); Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952); Alex Haley's *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) and former SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown's *Die Nigger Die!* (1969).

LA RAZA STUDIES/ LATINO STUDIES

The development of the Minority Studies second division of instruction, "La Raza" studies occurred during a highly charged, critical politico-historical juncture for US Latina/os. In the mid-1960s, nationally publicized campaigns by the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) under charismatic labor leader César Chavez, along with the founding of Reies Lopez Tijerina's Alianza Federal de las Mercedes in 1963, the Los Angeles Blowouts of 1968, the first meeting of the Crusade for Justice in 1969, and the

[262] Minority Studies Division, Selected Readings Volume 2. p. i. Box 3, Required Readings. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.
[263] Ibid.

Chicano Moratorium of 1970, collectively formed the crest of the Chicana/o Movement. In April 1969, the *New York Times* reported on the emerging ethnic-based activism by Mexican-Americans: "Five million Mexican-Americans…are stirring with a new militancy. The ethnic stereotype that Chicanos are too drowsy, too docile to carry out a sustained fight against poverty and discrimination is bending under fresh assault."[264]

Likewise in 1969, the Young Lords Organization (YLO), a Puerto Rican revolutionary nationalist group who led militant, community-based campaigns drawing attention to police brutality, chronic unemployment, substandard housing, racism, and public health failures in poor urban communities of color "reinvigorated and elevated barrio consciousness."[265] Nationwide, the Young Lords "sparked the imaginations of young Puerto Ricans and Latinos."[266] The national prominence of Latina/os in public and political culture even spurred a Congressional Research Report in 1970. Titled *Spanish-Americans: The New Militants*, the report noted with minor alarm, "the nation's second largest minority group is stirring from a century of lethargy and political impotence" before detailing how new leadership, attempting "to weld unity among the diverse group of Spanish-Americans—Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Cuban exiles, and other Latin migrants" were responsible for waves of "riots and disturbances in several cities" and "strikes in farm fields."[267]

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[264] Homer Bigart, "A New Mexican-American Militancy: Mexican Americans Take on New Militancy in Struggle for Identity." *New York Times,* April 20, 1969. 1.
[265] Virginia Sánchez-Korrol, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City.* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983). 235.
[266] Ibid.
[267] Richard C. Schroeder, "Spanish-Americans: the New Militants." *Editorial Research Reports.* Vol. II (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1970.). 707.

Figure 3:

President Richard Nixon meeting with CCOSP Chairman, Martin Castillo. Image from "Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People: A New Era."

At a federal level, President Richard Nixon announced establishment of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People (CCOSP) in December 1969. The CCOSP developed out of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs (IMAA) created by presidential memorandum in 1967. On December 18, 1969, Congress passed a bill (S. 740) changing the IMAA's title to CCOSP, reflecting its "expanded scope" encompassing "affairs of all Spanish speaking Americans; i.e., Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc." President Nixon signed the bill into law on December 30, 1969, declaring "I sign this bill *con gusto*-with the enthusiasm and determination to make equal opportunity a reality in these United States." An advisory body meant to represent the voice of an emergent pan-ethnic group, the CCOSP was comprised of Cabinet members, as well as twenty-five heads of agencies whose activities directly related to the "Spanish-speaking populace."[268] As argued by sociologist G. Christina Mora, the decision to employ "Spanish-speaking" reflected desires by the federal government to "co-opt and defuse threats from nationalist Puerto Rican and

[268] Editor Carlos Conde, "Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People: A New Era." Fall 1970. 8. Box 15. White House Central Files: FG 145: Robert H. Finch Collection. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA.

Mexican activist groups", whilst also pressuring activists to present a national identity that also included Cubans.[269]

The CCOSP's mission entailed promoting federal responsiveness to "all Spanish-speaking groups"; assuring that federal programs "provide assistance that Spanish-speaking people need" and "seeking out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems that are unique to such groups."[270] Major areas of concern included economic and manpower development, housing and community development, legislative and legal affairs, and government placement services. Remarking on the CCOSP's role, Chairman Martin Castillo observed, "the decade of the Seventies is perhaps the most crucial period for the American people to reaffirm the virtues on which this nation was founded. For the Spanish speaking American, it is the dawn of achievement and progress."[271] Highlighting disparities in equal opportunity for "Spanish speaking Americans," Castillo further noted, "If reform and brotherhood are to be achieved through concern and understanding, then this effort must

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[269] G. Christina Mora, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American.* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014). 14-15. The desire to reach out to Cuban-Americans was politically motivated. As illustrated in a memo from George Grassmuck, a Nixon White House deputy executive assistant, "the significance of the Cuban vote in Florida" should be taken into consideration when defining the three major "cultural groups" of Spanish-Speaking Americans. Grassmuck emphasized compatibility between Cuban "characteristics" and the Republican platform, describing "Cubanos" as, "Middle to upper economic level; seeking competitive opportunity; pro-business; strong-stand in Vietnam; better educated." Grassmuck also noted that Cuban-American business and political leaders were not inclined to working with the CCOSP: "Cuban attitudes toward Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is apparently one of polite disdain—certainly not a willingness to follow Mexican-American and Puerto Rican leadership in CCOSP. The Cubans probably need to be handled separately." George Grassmuck to Ken Smith, memorandum, "Caveats and Concerns," July 30, 1971, 2. Box 16. White House Central Files: FG 145: Robert H. Finch Collection. Richard Nixon Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA.

[270] "Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People: Its Information and its History." *La Luz.* April 1972. 18. Box 17. White House Central Files: FG 145: Robert H. Finch Collection. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA.

[271] Martin Castillo, "Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People: A New Era." Fall 1970. V. Box 15. White House Central Files: FG 145: Robert H. Finch Collection. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA.

include recognition of the problems and increased opportunity for a group of original Americans who up to now have existed as *tenant citizens* of this country."[272]

Purposely coupling "original Americans" with "tenant citizens," Castillo's choice phrasing underscored how entrenched ideological and institutional processes of racialization historically excluded Latina/os from the broader US polity. Consistently branded "the forgotten minority" in social policy publications, mainstream media, and government reports during the era, "Spanish-speaking Americans" physically inhabited the US (some for centuries) but remained economically, politically, socially, and culturally peripheral to normative conditions of citizenship. Usually defined as conferring a set of political rights, citizenship, as political theorist Judith Shklar reminds us, also constitutes "public standing"—acknowledgment of one's place, indeed legibility, within a democratic society.[273] As Shklar further argues, "people not granted these marks of civic dignity feel dishonored, not just powerless and poor."[274] In ensuing years, dignity and affirmation defined much of the CCOSP's language, both towards developing an acceptable, culturally palatable pan-ethnic identifier for "Spanish-speaking Americans" as well as obtaining a precise accounting of this underserved population's numbers.

Accordingly, the CCOSP's first and most urgent task involved preparations for the 1970 decennial census: "because no accurate national statistics had been developed by any private or public census, there was a great need to move aggressively in this area."[275] In

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[272] Emphasis added. Ibid.
[273] Judith N. Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991). 2-3.
[274] Ibid, 3.
[275] Ibid. 13.

early January 1970, CCOSP policy meetings were arranged with Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans and Bureau of the Census Director, George H. Brown. At the CCOSP's request, the Census Bureau also appointed a planning group of Mexican-American advisers to develop specific questions for Spanish-speaking Americans, utilizing surnames, mother tongue, and birthplace. In areas with large Spanish speaking populations, a Spanish-language version of the instruction sheet was also enclosed. However, this represented only a 5 percent sampling of the population. According to the census, at nearly ten million, Latina/os were officially recognized as the second largest minority population in the U.S. Although the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights later accused census takers of undercounting Latina/os in their 1974 report, "Counting the Forgotten" this census marked growing recognition of the nation's Latina/o population--a group with growing political clout. [276]

In tandem with the rising political profile of US Latina/os, the DRRI's La Raza Studies course developed alongside the institutionalization of other Chicana/o and Puerto Rican Studies programs nationwide. In the aftermath of student organizing and calls for more racially inclusive curricula, in 1968, California State College, Los Angeles founded the first Chicano Studies Department in the country. The following year, a Mexican-American Studies center was founded at Claremont College and a Chicana/o Studies research center established at UCLA. In his historiography of Chicano Studies, social

[276] Marta Tienda and Faith Mitchell, eds., *Multiple Origins, Uncertain Destinies: Hispanics and the American Future/Panel on Hispanics in the United States* (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2006), 41. See also, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Counting the Forgotten: the 1970 Census Count of Persons of Spanish Speaking Background in the U.S.*, Doc. (1974). 6-7

scientist Michael Soldatenko observes of early Chicano Studies advocates, "Critical of social science research and skeptical of academic work, these scholars sought to establish an oppositional epistemology rooted in the process of Chicano identity formation."[277] Similarly, in 1973, students at City University of New York (CUNY), working with community activists and Puerto Rican Studies scholars established the Center for Puerto Rican Studies (*Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueño*) at Hunter College with the aim of creating "a foundation for the intellectual field of Puerto Rican studies" and fostering "understanding of the Diaspora and for the incorporation of Puerto Ricans into communities across the United States."[278] For its part, the La Raza Studies course adopted much of this pedagogical framework, with readings and instruction oriented around memoirs, personal essays, and studies highlighting the disparate socio-economic conditions experienced by US Latina/os and foregrounding perspectives by movement activists.

DRRI students from the 1971 cohort were required to take eighteen hours of instruction in La Raza Studies. According to the preface for "La Raza Studies" compiled by USAF Sgt. Ron Gonzalez and USAF Command Sgt. Major Fred Silva:

> "Literally translated, La Raza" means "The Race." However, it cannot be identified as such and restricted to this definition. The concept of La Raza is a philosophy of life and is strongly identified with by Latinos. BASICALLY, THIS PHILOSOPHY IS: "THAT ALL LATINOS ARE UNITED BY CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL BONDS AND HAVE A COSMIC DESTINY." The spiritual aspect is perhaps more important than the cultural. The Latino recognizes regional variations in behavior and realizes that customs

[277] Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2009). 70.
[278] María Josefa Canino and Andrés Torres, "Organizational History," Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueño, April 2009, accessed March 2016, < http://centropr.hunter.cuny.edu/about.>

> change….The Chicanos and Puertorriqueno movements are not of recent development. Their thrust at racism extends back into the early development of the Americas. The forms and methods of oppression may have changed, as well as the oppressor, but the "La Raza" opposition to racial and cultural discrimination has not waivered."

Silva and Gonzalez's emphasis on "Raza" as a philosophy of life reflected the contested and complex meanings of the term's contemporary usage within the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements respectively. Their reference to a "cosmic destiny" most certainly drew on Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos's *La raza cósmica* (1925), an influential proto-evolutionary essay on Mexican national ethnicity and identity, highlighting what Vasconcelos regarded as the beneficial results of racial and ethnic miscegenation. According to Vasconcelos, two of the strongest bloodlines, Mexico's indigenous inhabitants and its Euro-Iberian heritage came together in the Americas to produce a powerful new cosmic race—embodied in the Mexican *mestizo*. *Mestizaje* or "racial" mixture formed a central premise of identity for many Chicano movement activists who embraced an ethnic-based nationalism, though as Jorge Mariscal notes, the extent to which Vasconcelos's essay influenced Movement activists remains subject to investigation.[279]

Nonetheless, *mestizaje* offered a powerful symbolic metaphor for articulations of racial hybridity, cultural difference, and social liminality Chicano Movement activists adopted to diagnose their political subjectivity. Within Chicano nationalist discourse from the late 1960s and early 1970s, Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales' epic poem, *Yo Soy*

[279] Mariscal rejects the notion that "Movement activists seriously engaged Vasconcelos's ideas or that Vasconcelos exerted a major influence." *Jorge Mariscal, Brown Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975. (*Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). 180.

Joaquín/I Am Joaquín, which "traces Chicano struggle through a historical overview of Mexican/Chicano history" provided a template by which Chicano activists laid claim to their interstitial status between dominant U.S. and Mexican identifications.[280] Gonzalez's affirmation of the indigenous pretext for mestizo identity subtended a powerful counter-narrative to older assimilationist narratives privileging the Spanish foundations of Mexican culture, heritage, and identity. As Christina Beltran observes of *Joaquin*, "through its emphasis on familial unity and community, Mexican-American subjectivity was politicized and reconfigured into a *Chicano* identity, defined by both resistance and cultural pride."[281]

Claiming *Chicano* as self-referent identification as many younger Mexican-American activists did signified a radical transformative political agenda that broke with earlier accomodationist models that sought inclusion under the rubric of American liberalism. As an intellectual strand, embrace of *chicanismo,* asserted a politically charged identity of collective consciousness, emphasizing dignity, self-worth, pride, and a rejection of status quo politics that had failed the full enfranchisement of Mexican origin communities for generations. According to Thomas Martinez, *chicanismo* was "about spirituality, honest self-examination, a complete love of life, and consciousness of the here and now. *Chicanismo* is a variant of the larger humanist tradition missing from mainstream America."[282]

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[280] Rafael Pérez-Torres, *Movements in Chicano Poetry: Against Myths, Against Margins* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 47.
[281] Christina Beltran, "Patrolling Borders: Hybrids, Hierarchies, and the Challenge of Mestizaje." *Political Research Quarterly* Vol. 57, No. 4. (December 2004). 595-607. 599.
[282] Thomas Martinez, "Chicanismo," *Época* 1:2 (1971), 35.

In noting the "spiritual aspect is perhaps more important than the cultural", Sgt. Gonzalez and CSM Silva also invoked the mythopoetics of poet Alurista's *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán) first introduced and read aloud at the Denver "National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference" in March 1969. In *El Plan*, Chicanos are compelled to acknowledge their Aztec origins and lay claim to Aztlán, a pre-Cortesian genesis myth, as the geographic region of the American southwest Mexico ceded to the US in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Discursively, Aztlán operated as a visionary paradigm for Chicano unity. According to Elyette Andouard-Labarthe, "Aztlán …was a compensatory symbolic mechanism, fusing poetic-symbolic unity to sociocultural concerns. The Chicanos who were divided by history, found in it an ancestral territory and a common destiny."[283] Yet in their introduction, Gonzalez and Silva collapsed the spiritual elements of Aztlán, a cultural nationalist invocation used by Chicanos, within a pan-Latino framework also encompassing Puerto Ricans.

Gonzalez and Silva too may have also been channeling Cuban intellectual and revolutionary José Martí's1891 essay, *Nuestra América* (Our America) wherein Martí articulated a transnational pan-hemispheric logics of solidarity between the colonized inhabitants of Latin America, the Caribbean, and the US.[284] In this sense, Gonzalez's and Silva's claim that "ALL LATINOS ARE UNITED BY CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL BONDS AND HAVE A COSMIC DESTINY" reflected contemporary language of Movement activists that as diasporic subjects, their fates were linked, forged within a history

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[283] Elyette Andouard-Labarthe, "Vicissitudes of Aztlán:," *Confluencia* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 83.

[284] An exile, Martí spent time in New York City throughout the late 1890s, where in 1892 he founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Cubano).

of Spanish and Euro-American colonization, capitalist penetration/exploitation, and centuries long oppression. Gonzalez's and Silva's declaration that "the Latino recognizes regional variations in behavior and realizes that customs change…"directly addressed the incredibly variegated, disparate traits of both the Chicano Movement and Puerto Rican activism of the mid-1960s to late 1970s. While both movements protested conditions of poverty, educational disparity, police brutality, and social marginalization respectively, they also diverged according to the regional, national, and international concerns of their respective constituencies.

As a whole, the reader for "La Raza" studies combined texts from both Mexican-American and Puerto Rican authors, offering a broad overview of conditions facing US Latinos. The first text consisted of an essay by well-known Puerto Rican writer and community activist Piri Thomas, author of *Down These Mean Streets* (1967). In "It's the decent people vs. the rip-offs, in and out of uniform," Thomas explicated on the plight of African-Americans and Puerto Ricans in "Ghetto communities":

> All my life in one way or the other I've lived in the Ghetto and ever since I can remember there was always some sort of violence going on—fights, muggings, rapes, junkies...and prostitutes—and to enhance the ghetto world of violence around me, to help bring out its message of fear, hopelessness, and despair was the embellishment of hot and cold running cockroaches and king size rats, of exploitation beyond compare, of pride and prejudice. But lest the people in the pretty Pleasantville suburbs think we of the ghetto dig violence and crime, let it be known that the criminal element represents a comparatively small percentage of the total community.[285]

[285] Piri Thomas, "It's the decent people vs. the rip-offs, in and out of uniform" (n.d.) reprint in USAF Sgt. Ron Gonzalez and USAF CMSGT Fred Silva, *La Raza in the United States: A Reader.* Box 1. DRRI Curriculum/ Reference Books. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL. 8.

The inclusion of Thomas's essay ostensibly served two purposes. First, it familiarized DRRI students with the day-to-day life struggles of Puerto Ricans, African-Americans, and other minority groups clustered in US urban locales and the structural racism they faced as denizens of the "ghetto", far removed from the "Pleasantville suburbs." By the second half of the twentieth century, the nation's long-festering urban crisis dramatically unfolded, precipitated by a national recession, deindustrialization, suburban "white flight," municipal neglect, and discriminatory housing policies. New York, a major site of Puerto Rican settlement since the mid-nineteenth century, reflected racialized patterns of concentrated poverty, marked by blighted public housing sites, the exodus or demolition of vibrant retail sectors, shift to a two-tier low-wage service economy, chronic unemployment, and erosion of education and basic public safety services.

The postwar departure of manufacturing jobs produced a depressed urban environment that left Puerto Rican communities particularly vulnerable. According to a 1970 study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the unemployment rate for Puerto Rican men ages 25-54 in New York City was five times the national rate.[286] However, the rising presence of Puerto Rican and other Latin American immigrants soon created social and political preoccupations with Puerto Ricans as a dangerous "underclass." As reporter Kevin Phillips of *The Washington Times* noted of Puerto Rican immigrants in New York, "they are crowding into unsafe housing, swelling the crime rate, collecting welfare payments, and holding down

[286] The study, "Characteristics of the Unemployed" was commissioned by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics and studied patterns of employment in four "New York ghettoes"—Central and East Harlem, the South Bronx, and Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant neighborhoods. The study found that the unemployment rate of 7.9 per cent for Puerto Ricans was more than twice that for African-Americans. AP. "Report Underscores Minority Unemployment." *Women's Wear Daily.* 10 July 1970. 30.

jobs into which US born welfare recipients could be placed. It is one thing for New York to be the cultural meeting place of the Western Hemisphere and another for it to be its flophouse."[287] Phillips's remarks echoed the pejorative tone of print publications like the *New York Times* and *Life* magazine, which during the 1940s published sensational accounts of Puerto Ricans "swarming" communities like East Harlem, describing such neighborhoods as "reeking of migrants."[288] Beginning in the mid 1970s, popular press accounts stigmatized Puerto Ricans as indigent, disorganized, irresponsible, lazy, drug-addicted, violent, and sexually aggressive. In the social sciences, Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963) posited that Puerto Ricans lacked "both a rich culture and strong family system." Owing to this supposedly weak, non-nuclear family structure, Glazer and Moynihan argued Puerto Rican culture was to blame for their stagnated economic progress, intergenerational dependence on welfare, and presumable delinquent behavior ensnaring them in a "cycle of poverty." Likewise, anthropologist Oscar Lewis's *La Vida* (1966), attributed Puerto Ricans' poor economic standing to a pathologized subculture premised on inadequate domestic arrangements (i.e. deficient family units). According to Lewis, the Puerto Rican poor had "no knowledge of their own history…and are far more deviant by virtually any standard."[289] The social narrative of Puerto Rican criminality and their depiction as possessing negative cultural attributes, values, and behaviors undoubtedly underwrote Thomas's desire to rectify such portrayals, with his

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[287] Kevin P. Phillips, "Latin Tide Engulfs NYC." *The Washington Post*. November 4, 1971. A17.
[288] Gina M. Pérez, *Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement, and Puerto Rican Families* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2004). 46.
[289] Oscar Lewis, *La Vida* (New York: Random House, 1966). Xliv, xlv. Quoted in Pérez, *Near Northwest Side Story*, 87.

assertion that "the criminal element represents a comparatively small percentage of the total community" and "in the ghettos are decent law-abiding citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color who despise the criminal element."[290] Second, Thomas's essay eloquently laid bare the sense of disaffection racial minorities felt towards law enforcement and generalized mistrust of establishment: "What I am saying is that our people in the ghetto complain to the police on crime, graft, drugs and like nothing happens. It is hard for a community to place trust in policeman who they see as constantly on the make, taking bribes or monthly payoffs from known criminals." [291]

The *La Raza Reader's* second two articles featured excerpts from the *New York Times* reporting on the poor state of education for US born Latinos, including a chart indicating that 75.6 per cent of Chicanos and 77.8 percent of Puerto Ricans had less than four years of high school education. As reported in "The Unfinished Education" a 1971 study conducted by the US Commission on Civil Rights, "minority students do not obtain the benefits of public education at a rate equal to that of their Anglo classmates."[292] The study, which focused on 532 school districts in five southwestern states (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas), found that almost half of Mexican-American students or 47 percent dropout before they finish high school. Further, the study blamed lack of bilingual education and historically relevant Mexican-American studies courses for the poor achievement levels of Mexican origin students: "the schools in the Southwest use a variety of

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[290] Thomas, "It's the decent people vs. the ripoffs" p. 9.
[291] Ibid.
[292] AP. "Minorities Score Schools in Southwest" *New York Times,* 8 December 1971. Reprinted in "La Raza Reader" Box 1. Curriculum/Reference Books. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL. 15.

exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community."[293] In a statement by the commission's director John Buggs, he described California as "the best in a group of losers." Texas, on the other hand, was described as the worst. The *La Raza Reader* then abruptly shifted to an essay by Chicano activist, José Angel Gutiérrez, "Aztlán: Chicano Revolt in Winter Garden" detailing the 1969-1971 campaign by members of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), to create a "model city for Chicano activists" in Crystal City, Texas. According to Gutiérrez, "we were not misguided and mal-informed VISTA volunteers; nor were we white-knight Latin Americans that sought to manage the affairs of the gringo for the gringo. We were young Chicanos who saw and felt things like Chicanos should. We loved and accepted our Mexicanismo and saw brighter things for La Raza."[294] Gutiérrez's essay situated Chicano movement activism against educational disparity in states like Texas, along with entrenched poverty and efforts at electoral political reform.[295] Amidst widespread community and student protest in support of their efforts, in January 1970, members of MAYO filed for party status as "El Partido de la Raza Unida" in LaSalle and Dimmit counties, focusing on school board and city council seats.

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[293] Ibid.

[294] José Angel Gutiérrez, "Aztlán: Chicano Revolt in Winter Garden" *La Raza* Vol. 1, no 4. (1971). 34-37. Reprinted in "La Raza Reader". Box 1. DRRI Curriculum/ Reference Books. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL. p. 29.

[295] Under Gutiérrez's leadership, the La Raza Unida Party was founded in San Antonio, TX in 1967 where it created the "Winter Garden Project" whose purpose was to redirect political, social, and economic resources in a ten county area of South Texas with the ultimate goal of maximizing Mexican-American political representation. The project received funding from the Ford Foundation, VISTA, and Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). In March 1969, Del Rio county officials ousted the VISTA workers and by mid-1969, the Ford Foundation withdrew its funding. The curriculum made no mention of female leaders like Luz Gutierrez, Martha Cotera, and Rosie Castro who were instrumental in the movement to reclaim Crystal City. Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality & Promise, 1940-1990.* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1990). 129.

The *La Raza Reader* concluded with a short essay by Armando Rendón, "El Puertorriqueño: No More, No Less" which describes the racial, political, and social ambiguity of Puerto Rican identity in the US: "I'm not black; I'm note white; I'm not in-between. I'm Puerto Rican…The words of the "Newyorican" can tell American many things about the political and philosophical aberrations stemming from its color blindspot."[296] Rendón's essay elaborated on the racial heterogeneity of Puerto Rican ethnicity, and their racialized status between the polarities of black and white underlying dominant conceptions of US race relations. Rejecting classifications of Puerto Ricans as "immigrants" Rendón noted that Puerto Ricans are migrants, but "fully American citizens" whose migration to the US was not that unlike previous generations of immigrants. Nonetheless, according to Rendón, Puerto Ricans faced racial discrimination because of their investment in maintaining their racial identity: "most immigrants have become carbon copies of something they're not, because Americans already here have tended to negate anything foreign—to be foreign has meant to be less. In this sense, the Puerto Rican is an irritant because, as it is becoming more evident, he wants to be accepted and respected for what he is, not for what others want him to be." Rendón then shifts his attention to the social conditions for Puerto Ricans in New York, describing their numerical dominance among indices of poverty, unemployment, tuberculosis rates, and residential segregation in the *barrio*:

> Coming out of the subway into the streets of "el barrio" after being in downtown Manhattan is like stepping into another world. A senses-offending squalor is first

[296] Armando Rendón, "El Puertorriqueño: No More, No Less" (n.d.) Box 1. "La Raza Reader" Box 1, DRRI Reference/Curriculum. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL. 40.

> apparent after the tall, glass and steel cityscape, a contrast suddenly sprawling before the eyes of squat three and four story tenements littering the streets. It is hard to judge which is more disturbing—the suddenness of the climb up the subway stairs or the abruptness of East 96th street which runs like an invisible Berlin Wall between affluent Manhattanites and East Harlem Puertorriqueños and Harlem blacks.

Like Thomas's essay, Rendón's text helped contextualize the community based initiatives of the Young Lords, who sought a "revolutionary war to bring power to their people."[297] The Young Lords undertook a series of "liberation" actions aimed at improving conditions in the barrio including: the creation of lead paint testing programs, founding a mobile clinic to test for tuberculosis, free clothing exchanges, a breakfast program for poor children, free day care programs, community based educational initiatives, and in July 1970, the takeover of Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx, long declared unsanitary and unsafe.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS/CHICANO

By August of 1972, the "La Raza" course had been amended to twelve hours, divided evenly between six hours for "Mexican-Americans/Chicano" and six hours for "The Puerto Ricans."[298] As with "La Raza" studies, the syllabi for "Mexican-Americans/Chicano" reflected the direct impact of the Chicano Movement on course content. However, this new iteration of studies also incorporated social science literature by predominantly white sociologists and historians, much of which reproduced hegemonic narratives that ran counter

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[297] AP. "Militant N.Y. Puerto Ricans Occupy Building at Hospital." *The Washington Post Herald.* July 15, 1970. A3.

[298] There are no given reasons for the name change from "La Raza" Studies to "Chicano/Mexican-American" and "Puerto Rican" Studies. "Lesson Outline 2212. Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. DRRI Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook/ Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL. p. 19.

to the political and educational agenda of Chicana/o movement activists. According to Dr. Frank Montalvo, who helped design the Latina/o program of study, material reasons underwrote this contradictory blend of scholarship, "There wasn't much information regarding Latinos in general, so it was a matter of searching. The scholarly literature was very negative and kind of general and it talked about problems in a general context." On the course's use of primary sources from movement activists, Montalvo observed: The movement activism provided more focus for us, provided a direction on understanding major issues in the country. So, we tended to lean on those documents that related to social movements.[299]

In their first two hours of study, DRRI students were introduced to Mexican history. Course objectives included:

1. Acquaint students with the history and contributions of the various Indian tribes and their relationship with the Spanish conquistadores.
2. Examine the term Mestizo
3. Provide a brief history of the Mexican people with emphasis on certain important facts such as: a) Mexico's independence from Spain b) Mexico War c) Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and its guarantees to the Mexican American people d) Mexican Revolution of 1910 e) the great depression f) the Bracero Program g) Milieu of the Southwest

Reading assignments for this first hour included *Mexican Americans in the Southwest* (1970) by sociologist John Burma and *North from Mexico* (1968) by Carey McWilliams, followed by a viewing of the twenty-minute film *North from Mexico* (1971) which declared that Mexican-Americans "have long been one of America's forgotten minorities. Today, they will

[299] Frank F. Montalvo, interview by the author.

no longer allow themselves to be forgotten."[300] The third hour of instruction concentrated on Reies Tijerina ("el Tigre") and the Land Grant Movement with lesson objectives focused on "reviewing the happenings and ramification of Tierra Amarilla." In 1967, members of the Alianza Federal de las Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) under leadership from Tijerina, raided the federal courthouse at Tierra Amarilla in northern New Mexico, in an attempt to reclaim Northern Mexico lands for Hispano residents. The fourth hour of instruction concentrated on "Chicano/Mexican American Education and Employment" with the following course objectives:

1. Review and analyze the educational levels of Chicano/Mexican Americans and Anglos throughout the Southwest.
2. Examine factors that have retarded Chicano/Mexican American achievements in the field of education.
3. Examine and review general school practices affecting Chicanos/Mexican-Americans.
4. Investigate the effects of segregation in the school systems as it affects Chicano/Mexican American students.
5. Explain the term "Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa"[301]

Prior to the 1960s, biological and cultural deficiencies theories labeled Mexican American students as "too clannish" and noted "they do not care about education" or as language handicapped. For that reason, schools largely transmitted dominant Anglo-

[300] *North from Mexico: Exploration and Heritage,* directed by Sumner Glicher, Center for Mass Communication, 1971.

[301] The etymology of this term is vague. According to an issue of *Commanders Digest* focusing on the DRRI, the "shrunken head of Pancho Villa" is a term that refers to the "de-education of Mexican-American children." *Commanders Digest*, Department of Defense, Vol. 13, No. 11. Washington, D.C.14. It is unclear if the term is also referencing Chicano playwright Luis Valdez's 1964 play, "The Shrunken Head of Pancho Villa" in which a character named Belarmino, a disembodied talking head with a gargantuan appetite, allegorically channels the eponymous title character, though the play does not directly or even indirectly address education.

American values, norms, and expectations to Mexican origin students.[302] DRRI students were required to read excerpts from *La Raza* by Stan Steiner (1970), wherein Steiner drew much of his educational data from the 1968 pamphlet, "The Mexican American: Quest for Equality" published by the National Advisory Committee on Education for Mexican Americans. Among the report's more startling findings were that the average Mexican American child in the Southwest dropped out of school by the seventh year; in Texas, 89 percent of children with Spanish surnames dropped out before completing high school, and Mexican Americans accounted for more than 40 percent of the so-called "mentally handicapped" in California.[303] While acknowledging that federal funds had been allocated for bilingual education, the report's authors noted that "perhaps an even more serious one is the problem of involuntary discrimination — that it, our insistence on fitting the Mexican American student into the monolingual, monocultural mold of the Anglo American."[304] To supplement their reading of Steiner, DRRI students also read from "The Excluded Student," a May 1972 Report by the US Civil Rights Commission, which declared:

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[302] Gilda L. Ochoa, *Learning From Latino Teachers* (San Francisco: Jossey- Bass, 2007), 32.

[303] On this last point, the report noted, "We have not developed suitable instruments for accurately measuring the intelligence and learning potential of the Mexican American child. Because there is little communication between educators and these non-English speaking, youngsters, the pupils are likely to be dismissed as "mentally retarded." Common sense tells us that this is simply not so." Ralph Guzmán, et al. *The Mexican American: Quest for Equality* (Washington, DC: National Advisory Committee on Education for Mexican Americans, 1968). 2.

[304] Guzmán *The Mexican American: Quest*, 4.

> "The suppression of the Spanish language is the most overt area of cultural exclusion. Because use of a language other than English has been cited as an educational deterrent to Americanization, schools have resorted to strict repressive measures. In spite of the fact that nearly 50 percent of Mexican American first graders do not speak English, they are often compelled to learn a new language and course material in that language simultaneously during the first years of their educational experience.[305]

The study also documented the limited availability of Mexican-American schoolteachers relative to percentage of Mexican-American schoolchildren. It found that of 325,000 teachers in the five Southwestern states, only 12,000 or 4 percent were Mexican-American, while nearly 20% of students were Mexican-American. Moreover, it found that Mexican-Americans were underrepresented on local boards of education in those same states, with a survey finding that of 4,600 school board members, only 470 or 10 percent were Mexican-American. The weak educational status of Mexican origin schoolchildren, alongside the urgency for bilingual education had been an emerging national dialogue since the mid-1960s. In 1966, the National Education Association (NEA) held its first conference on the education of Spanish-speaking children. Thereafter, in 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into legislation the Bilingual Education Act (BEA), allocating federal funds to public school districts with a high percentage of students with limited English speaking ability.[306] In 1970, the U.S. Department of Education, Health, and Welfare (HEW) issued a memorandum indicating that students could not be denied access to educational programs because of a

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[305] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Excluded Student." Washington D.C. (1972). 223. Reprinted in DRRI *Minority Studies Division: Selected Readings*, Vol. 2. Box 3. DRRI Required Readings. DEOMI, Patrick AFB, FL.

[306] The act was preceded in 1967 by Title VII, an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 sponsored by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough, intended to meet the "special educational needs of children of limited English speaking ability." Gareth Davies, "The Great Society after Johnson: The Case of Bilingual Education." *Journal of American History*, March 2002. 1407.

limited ability to speak English.[307] That same year, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) prepared to provide legal counsel for *United States v. Texas*, after Judge William Wayne Justice of the U.S. District Court ordered the State of Texas, via the Texas Education Agency (TEA) and nine school districts to remedy past discrimination and practices of *de jure* segregation that disproportionately harmed black and Mexican-American schoolchildren. In June 1971, Congress approved $500 billion for the Office of Education, with $35 million allocated for bilingual education.[308] This particular block of instruction coincided with the apex of federal advances towards desegregation in American public schools. Twenty-four years after *Westminster v. Mendez* (1947), prohibiting the segregation of Mexican-American schoolchildren in California and eighteen years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) eliminating segregation in public schools nationally, the reformist impulse in American education had never been stronger. While DRRI students immersed themselves in the literature of Mexican-American educational history, nationally, issues of affirmative action in higher education, mandatory school busing, and the elimination of *de facto* segregation were taking center stage amongst American educators, policymakers, and the Nixon administration.

The extent to which the Chicano Movement directly influenced the "Chicano/Mexican-American" curriculum was even more pronounced in the next three

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[307] The HEW memo was supported by a regulatory policy issued in May 1970 by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) titled "School Districts with More than Five Percent National Origin-Minority Group Children" which aimed to combat "common practices which have the effect of denying equality of educational opportunity to Spanish-surnamed pupils" in breach of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Davies, "The Great Society," 1419.

[308] Eric Wentworth, "$5 Billion Education Measure is approved by Hill Conferees." *The Washington Post*, June 29, 1971. A3.

blocks of instruction, dedicated to "Ethnic Organizations and Political Effectiveness"; "Brown Power & Brown Berets"; and "José Angel Gutiérrez." Objectives for lesson 2214 included:

1. Acquaint students with the various organizations such as: a) G.I. Forum b) MAPA c) MAYO d) PASSO e) El Teatro Campesino
2. Trace the development of Mexican American organizations and their effectiveness within the Chicano/Mexican-American community
3. Discuss Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez and the Crusade for Justice [309]

This section provided historical context for the diverse groundswell of activism that underwrote *Movimiento* politics during the years 1965-1971 just prior to the establishment of the DRRI. The rise of the Chicano or "Brown Power" movement explicitly named the grievances with earlier tactics of social and political advancement. Broadly, the course emphasized the trajectory of Mexican-American political consciousness from the conservative, liberal-based framework adopted by members of the "Mexican-American Generation" to the confrontational style politics embraced by the Chicano paramilitary group, the Brown Berets. The choice of which groups to highlight reveals a moderate approach to the study of Mexican-American political ideology bounded within a domestic context, unlike the transnational, anti-colonial philosophy manifest in Lessons 2812 "Black Contemporary Thought." Collectively, the course hewed to the language of civil rights, disavowing the internationalist solidarity agenda and Marxist ideological orientation of some Chicano activists. For example, the American G.I. Forum, a small veterans group established in 1947 by Dr. Hector P. García, became a nationally recognized Mexican-American advocacy

[309] "Lesson Outline 2214." Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. pgs 24-26. DRRI Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook. Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

organization after addressing the refusal by a white-owned funeral home in Three Rivers, TX to bury Mexican-American World War II veteran Felix Longoria. The GI Forum's efforts were largely directed at combatting discrimination, providing veterans' services, and community based outreach. Immersed in the language of citizenship, the GI Forum's constitution noted: "As loyal citizens…we sincerely believe that one of the principles of democracy is religious and political freedom for the individual and that all citizens are entitled to the right of equality in social and economic opportunities."[310] Emphasizing their status as "Americans" and as military veterans who had shed blood in the battlefields of World War II, the Forum "readily broadcast the patriotism of Mexican-Americans."[311] Yet in doing so, Forum members also directly correlated whiteness with citizenship, as emblematized by Garcia's remark, "I resent the term 'brown power.' That sounds as if we were a different race. We're not. We're white. We should be Americans."[312]

The Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASSO), both founded in 1960 in response to the presidential election of John F. Kennedy, focused on increasing Mexican American political representation in the electoral process and generally advancing the agendas of Mexican American elected officials like Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez of Texas, Congressman Edward P. Roybal of California, and Senator Dennis Chávez of New Mexico. Focused on "getting out the vote" drives and concentrating on matters of school desegregation, public

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[310] Quoted in Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics and Promise*, 60.
[311] Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano*, 38.
[312] Hector P. García quoted in "Tío Taco is Dead" *Newsweek.* June 29, 1970. Quoted in Mariscal, *Brown Eyed Children*, 25.

discrimination against Mexican-Americans, and unfair hiring practices of Mexican Americans in federal occupations, these groups represented a collective pursuit for Mexican-American civil rights during the 1950s that celebrated an idealized version of American-ness, bound by claims that their rights to liberty, equality, and democracy as *citizens* had been abrogated by socially sanctioned, race-based practices of discrimination.

In shifting focus to the founding of the Crusade for Justice by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, the instructors for "The Mexican-American/Chicano" highlighted the ideological rupture between older generations of ethnic based activism, premised on models of inclusion, to younger generations who rejected such tactics and "presented a stiff challenge to a civil rights strategy that emphasized Americanization."[313] A former boxer, businessman, G.I. Forum member, and Democratic party official from Denver, Colorado, in 1966 Gonzalez founded the "Crusade for Justice" to protest police brutality and racism from law enforcement following the suspicious and brutal deaths of two Mexican-Americans at the hands of Denver police officials.[314] Originally a local organization comprised of approximately thirty working-class families, the Crusade's initial platform focused on discrimination in the Denver public school system, cultural programs, efforts to organize sanitation and postal workers, and supporting Gonzalez's (unsuccessful) campaign for Denver mayor in 1967. Philosophically, the Crusade endorsed tenets of cultural consciousness, premised on notions of "La Familia" (the family) and self-determination. Politically, the Crusade rejected traditional establishment politics and measures by Johnson's

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[313] Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano*, 45.

[314] In the summer of 1962, Eddie Romero was gunned down by Denver police and in March 1966, Alfred Salazar was also killed under suspicious circumstances.

Great Society, instead focusing on creating its own autonomous educational institutions, such as founding a separate school, *Tlatelolco,* and its own independent newspaper, *El Gallo*.[315] In late spring 1968, members of the Crusade for Justice, under Gonzalez's helm, organized a contingent to attend the Poor People's March on Washington D.C., calling attention to the material conditions of poverty, residential segregation, and income disparities affecting people of color—African Americans, Chicanos, and American Indians—that civil rights reforms had failed to address. However, DRRI instructors chose to ignore Gonzalez's growing anti-war activism. Beginning in 1965, as the War in Vietnam escalated, Gonzalez increasingly turned his attention towards denouncing the war and its disproportionate impact on the Chicano community. In 1966, Gonzalez began routinely speaking out against the war and organizing rallies to protest US interventions in Southeast Asia. According Lorena Oropeza, "Gonzalez flatly rejected military service as a testing ground for Mexican-American manhood."[316] However, given Gonzalez's anti-militarist stance, including his claims that the "economic stabilization of our country" rested on waging war, DRRI instructors chose not to emphasize this aspect of Gonzalez's political platform, especially when the war in Vietnam was still underway. Additionally, the curriculum's attention to the Brown Berets "development and leadership" suggests that DRRI instructors were more concerned with emphasizing the cultural nationalist ethos endorsed by figures like Gonzalez.

The inclusion of study of the *El Teatro Campesino* (The Farm Workers' Theater) stands alone in this section of instruction as one of the few sites attentive to cultural

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[315] Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).
[316] Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano*,75.

production within the *Movimiento*.[317] Founded in 1965 as the cultural wing of the United Farm Workers (UFW), *El Teatro* was conceived of as a union tool for organizing, fund-raising, and politicizing the exploitative conditions of farmworkers.[318] Through improvised skits, referred to as *actos* often performed in the fields, during demonstrations and marches, *Teatro* members drew attention to the need for farmworkers to unionize against the abuses of agribusinesses, which included large-scale pesticide poisoning of farm laborers, exploitative wages, substandard housing, child labor, and no benefits. As Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez argues, the *Teatro Campesino* emerged amidst a widespread flourishing of Chicana/o theater across the Southwest and Midwest, during which performers sought to "affirm an alternative social vision that relied on a distinct Chicana/o aesthetic."[319] Rooted in Mexican oral tradition, folk storytelling, and utilizing the practice of the *carpa* (tent show), *El Teatro* performances mixed biting satire, with sometimes crude or vulgar characterizations, to underscore the complex social realities of Chicanos, grounded in both working class social experiences and shared cultural heritage. As a political tool of the UFW, *El Teatro* presented counter-hegemonic narratives that directly critiqued the powerful agribusiness lobby, with skits often enacted in a combative style that privileged humor, parody, and "verbal jousting" between a fictionalized authority figure and prototypical "underdog" often representing farm

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[317] Lesson outline 2215, "Chicano/Mexican-American poetry" featured a brief hour of discussion "to acquaint the student with the fact that poetry has and does play a very important part in the Chicano/Mexican-American lifestyle." Readings for this section consisted of two poems: Jose Angel Gutierrez's "Twenty-two miles" and raul salinas's "Los Caudillos." "Lesson Outline 2215." Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. 27. DRRI Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook. Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL

[318] Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez, *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). Xii.

[319] Broyles-Gonzalez, *El Teatro Campesino*, 3.

laborers. Early actos included *Los Vendidos* ("The Sell-Outs,"1967) which examined racial stereotyping of Mexican-Americans in California; *Huelgistas* ("Strikers,"1970) highlighting the valiant struggle of union strikers and *La Gran Carpa de los Rasquachis* ("The Great Tent of the Underdogs," 1972) which followed a Mexican Cantinflas-like character from his crossing the border into the United States and various indignities he suffered until his death. Throughout this period, *El Teatro* founder and artistic director Luis Valdez also produced several anti-war *actos*.

In the closing act of Valdez's *The Dark Root of a Scream* (1967) a character named Señora Gonzalez lets forth an agonizing wail as the flag-draped casket of her son Indio, a U.S. soldier killed in Viet Nam, is opened in her presence alongside her family priest, Indio's girlfriend Dalia, and his childhood friends, Gato, Lizard, and Conejo.[320] In an earlier scene from the play, Señora Gonzalez faints and drops her son's Medal of Honor. The priest retrieves it and attempts to comfort her:

> PRIEST: …in spite of your grief, you can be very proud of your son. The Congressional Medal of Honor is the highest award his country could give him.
> MADRE: La Medalla…ya van tres.[321]
> PRIEST: tres?[322]
> DALIA: That's right father. She has three. One for her oldest boy killed in France, another killed in Korea and now Indio.

The priest's attempt to comfort Señora Gonzalez by emphasizing her son's heroic sacrifice on behalf of the nation tellingly casts her in the role of the *archetypal patriotic*

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[320] The entire play takes place at Indio's wake—the coffin is opened when wake goers notice blood is dripping from the American flag wrapping his casket. After opening the casket, a bleeding human heart is discovered. Luis Valdez, "Dark Root of a Scream," 1967, in *From the Barrio: A Chicano Anthology*, comp. Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman (San Francisco, CA: Canfield Press, 1973), 90-110.
[321] the medal, that makes three now
[322] Three?

mother—stoic, silent figures that quietly support the nation's war efforts even if it means the possibilities of their child's mortality.[323] In short, he represents a dominant strand of political rhetoric that though sympathetic to mothers of the war dead, nonetheless colludes in silencing potential opposition from them. Señora Gonzalez's reply, "ya va tres" (that makes three now) reminds the audience that prestigious medals provide little consolation for the loss of her child—no matter how "noble" the cause of war. Further, by noting that she has lost two other sons in prior U.S. wars, Valdez indicts the tradition of military service by Mexican-Americans, recognizing perhaps implicitly, that it has done little to change the material circumstances for which they are enlisting. *Dark Root*, alongside Valdez's other major anti-war actos *Soldado Razo* (Buck Private, 1971) and *Vietnam Campesino* (Vietnam Peasant, 1970) gave dramatic voice to the anguish, frustration, and contradictory set of allegiances experienced by Mexican origin communities across the Southwest, as well as other Latina/os significantly affected by the U.S. war with Viet Nam. Often addressing issues of community pressure to serve, familial pride, job discrimination, and limited opportunities for advancement, Valdez's anti-war plays, according to Mariscal, "embody the tension produced by the desire to assimilate."[324] The scream that Señora Gonzalez concludes the play with is a particularly evocative one that would be echoed throughout Latina/o communities in the Southwest,

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[323] The literature on war and motherhood is extensive. For definitions of the patriotic mother, see Karen Slatery and Ana C. Garner, "The World War II Patriotic Mother: A cultural ideal in the U.S. Press." *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2007, 143-157;see also Susan Zeiger, "She Didn't Raise Her Son to Be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First Word War." *Feminist Studies 22 (1),* 1996. pp. 6-40.

[324] Jorge Mariscal, *Aztlán and Viet Nam: Chicana and Chicano Experiences of the War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999). 26-27.

New York, Chicago, and Puerto Rico precipitated by rising casualty rates of Latina/o service-members.

The DRRI curriculum expressly ignored anti-war activism within the Chicano community. As Montalvo notes, "The anti-war movement was not part of our mission and never discussed in class nor in meetings– not Corky, Cesar, or MLK. We knew about their sentiments, but we were very focused on training."[325] Aside from disavowing the anti-war stances adopted by figures like Gonzalez and Tijerina, "The Mexican-American/Chicano" course plan devoted no efforts at even mentioning the Chicano Moratorium taking place two years earlier and representing the largest mass mobilization of any specific racial/ethnic group in US history. In August 1970, between twenty and thirty thousand Chicana/o nationalists and anti-war protestors peacefully assembled in the streets of East Los Angeles to call for an end to the war in Viet Nam. Their critiques of U.S. imperialism, structural racism, and economic inequality forced a fundamental re-assessment of Mexican-American nationalism, as well as the dominant post-WWII narrative of democracy and freedom for racial minorities.

In rejecting the hegemonic political ideology of assimilation characteristic of earlier civil rights struggles, *Movimiento* members, like other cultural nationalist groups of the period, argued for wider social and political recognition of their ethnic and racial difference. Propelled by the achievements of the Civil Rights movements of the 1950's and early 60's, movement activists revised, adjusted, and even rejected prevailing logics of post-war liberalism that praised or called attention to their worthiness, patriotic

[325] Frank F. Montalvo, interview by the author.

devotion, deservingness of full citizenship, and ability to appropriate whiteness. Rather, movement activists deployed the refrain "La batalla está aquí" (the battle is here) to foreground more immediate issues of concern to Mexican-Americans than fighting and dying "in a faraway land": substandard housing, poverty, educational disparities, and deficient employment opportunities.[326] As historian Lorena Oropeza makes clear in her study of the Moratorium, participation in anti-war activism prompted many Chicanas and Chicanos "to interrogate the meaning of masculinity for their struggle."[327]

The issue of gender, and more specifically, masculinity was not critiqued, but rather, implicitly endorsed by instructors within "The Mexican-American/Chicano" course offering. According to the forward of the syllabus for Minority Studies Division: "the readings will focus on men, their philosophies, and events."[328] As evident in course outlines 2213-2215, there were no readings authored by women, with course content focused exclusively on male leaders of political organizations. While the social movements of the 1960's, from black liberation to Third World solidarity directly underwrote much of the course content for the DRRI in its early years, the role of gender had yet to be fully theorized, processed, and integrated into DRRI courses. The pointed omission of women within the "Mexican-American/Chicano" course study, and generally within the Minority Studies Division may have its origins in two mutual factors.

First, by and large, the "Mexican-American/Chicano" studies division replicated the male-centered discourse of Chicano nationalism, with its attendant focus on

[326] Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano*, 5.
[327] Oropeza, *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano*, 7.
[328] "Forward." Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972.p. 4. DRRI Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook/ Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

carnalísmo ("brotherhood"), and cultural-visual preoccupations with archetypal male warriors. Imagery of romanticized figures like Cuban revolutionary Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, potent symbols of male virility, defiance, and bravery, saturated *Moviemiento* cultural productions in artwork, songs, poetry, and literature. More importantly, the curriculum's emphasis on cultural nationalism, predicated on *la familia de la raza,* (the people's family) or the concept that Chicanos were a "family" reproduced a classic patriarchal framework, with women considered ancillary figures—caretakers and loyal supporters of the movement, but not its central protagonists. Nowhere was the masculinist orientation and sexual politics of the curriculum more explicit than in Lesson Outline 2213, "The Mexican-American Family" in which students were asked to "explain concepts relative to the family structure: a) Machismo b) Personalismo and c) Carnalísmo."[329] In this context, *machismo*, or a presumed standard of male behavior identified with Mexican culture, is a complex term connoting both positive and negative qualities.[330] On one hand, it can mean such notable attributes as a protector of the family, decisive, dignified, hard working, and responsible. However, it is more widely recognized for negative associations with hyper-masculinity, aggression, violence, desires to control women, and exaggerated sexual promiscuity. Social science literature of the early 1970s, substantially correlated

[329] *Personalismo* refers to a concept of friendliness, trust, rapport and an emphasis on cultivating personal social interactions . "Lesson Outline 2213." Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. 22. DRRI Box 3. DRRI Commanders Handbook/ Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

[330] The literature on "machismo" as a concept is vast. For an overview, see G. Miguel Arciniega et al., "Toward a Fuller Conception of Machismo: Development of a Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo Scale," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 55, no. 1 (2008).

machismo with the latter. The course reading for Outline 2213 drew heavily from sociologist John Burma's *Mexican-Americans in the US* (1970), where Burma described a cultural dichotomy between Mexican-American males and females, portraying Mexican American women as "ideally submissive, unworldly, and chaste" or "at the command of the husband, who [keeps] her as he would a coveted thing, free from the contacts of the world, subject to his passions, ignorant of life."[331]

This passage emblematizes the social science literature of the era that stereotyped Mexican Americans as culturally different, with values that deviated substantially from that of Anglos and African-Americans. In her early study of sociological literature about Mexican-Americans, Sally Andrade noted that such studies, like Burma's were most concerned with *machismo* and familism.[332] Other notable sociological studies, such as William Madsen's *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas* (1964) posited culturally determinist assertions, characterizing the sex roles of Mexican-Americans as rigidly defined between the *macho* ethos of the husband as an authoritarian figure and the subordinate position of women as nurturers and maternal figures singularly concerned with family well-being. In particular, Madsen emphasized a conflicting value system between Mexican-American and Anglos, contrasting the "Anglo democratic family with its concept of female equality" with crude characterizations of Mexican-American women as essentially docile, opinionless, and deferential.[333] Though intended as a primer

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[331] John Burma, *Mexican Americans in the US: A Reader* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing, 1970), 214.
[332] Sally J. Andrade, "Social Science Stereotypes of the Mexican-American Woman: Policy Implications for Research," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 4, no. 2 (1982): 224.
[333] William Madsen, *Society and Health in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.* (Austin, TX: Hogg Foundation

on Chicana/o cultural identity and practices, the "Mexican-American/Chicano" course relied heavily on such social science literature as Burma's and Madsens's, thus perhaps unwittingly, reifying stereotypical portraits of Mexican-Americans as culturally divergent from mainstream conceptions of gender parity and normative Anglo-values.

Second, as a structuring condition for the military, masculinity itself had experienced a series of transformations. The war in Vietnam, though winding down, had successfully perforated the ideal of military manhood once vital within the Cold War national imaginary when military service was lauded as not only honorable, but a necessary pretext for the maintenance of a "free world." As Robert O. Self observes, "Because he is meant to be noble and the best the nation has to offer, and because he is a mirror for the nation to gaze upon itself, the soldier is by nature a public figure, his manhood subject to explicit discussion and debate."[334] The Vietnam War's unpopularity, immersed in scrutiny over US imperialism, racism, and classism translated into a fundamental public re-evaluation of the American soldier and of once valorized conceptions of militarized masculinity—the set of beliefs, practices, and attributes that enables individuals to claim authority based on an affirmative relationship with the military, conferred power by virtue of service that certifies one's claims to competence, trustworthiness, or authenticity.[335]

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for Mental Health, 1961). 17. See also, Madsen, *The Mexican Americans of South Texas* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1964).

[334] Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Re-Alignment of American Democracy since the 1960s* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2012) 47.

[335] Aaron Belkin, *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Facade of American Empire, 1898-2001* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012) 3.

By early 1972, the relationship between American manhood and military service had been irrevocably breached. As Americans looked to the war in Vietnam, a panoply of atrocities, abuses, and horror, they sought to reconcile the contradictory entanglement between soldiers as reflections of moral authority and soldiers as purveyors of violence. Young men themselves began to question the inherited legacy of American manhood directly correlated to the "dutiful manliness of the warrior."[336] Interrogating the relationship between manhood and military service in 1971, UFW leader Cesar Chavez, during a major speech at Los Angeles's Exposition Park queried whether, "to be fully men, to gain respect from other men, the poor, brown, and black farmworkers of America ought to kill other farm workers in Southeast Asia." How can Mexican Americans be proud, Chavez asked, "if our sons go off to war grasping for their manhood at the end of a gun?" [337] Likewise, the rise of second wave feminist critiques of traditional gender roles posed "a serious challenge to traditional male military values" according to William J. Gibson, marking the 1970s as a "time for deep crisis for a cultural production of war and the warrior."[338]

Overall, the "Mexican-American/Chicano" course stayed faithful to its broader aims of familiarizing students with Mexican-American history and expounding on the major tenets of Chicano nationalism. Under Sgt. Ron Gonzalez and Command Sgt. Major Fred Silva's helm, the course's curriculum enabled students to learn about, confront, and

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[336] Self, *All in the Family*, 50.
[337] Quoted in Self, *All in the Family,* 54.
[338] J. William Gibson, "Return of Rambo: War and Culture in the Post- Vietnam Era," 1991, in *America at Century's End*, ed. Alan Wolfe (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 183

grapple with basic elements of ethnic Mexican identity and heritage. However, in ignoring the anti-war philosophy of many Chicano movement members and the vital role of women, the course also subscribed to a narrow interpretation of Chicano identity politics that erased the more activist dimensions of the Movement's ideology.

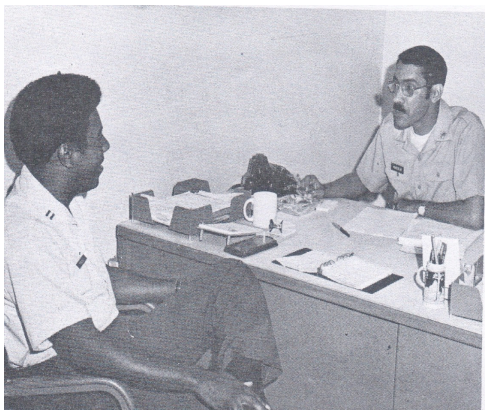

Figure 4: Lt. Col. (USAF) Frank Montalvo, chief, Minority Studies Division, councils a student. November 1972. Personal photo courtesy of Frank Montalvo.

PUERTO RICAN STUDIES

If the "Mexican-American/Chicano" studies course sought to incorporate elements of contemporary ethnic-based activism, "The Puerto Ricans" curriculum shared no such pedagogical aspirations. Rather, instructors Silva and Gonzalez focused on a broad overview of Puerto Rican history, absent any of the revolutionary political currents taking shape throughout urban barrios in New York, Chicago, and Detroit. The first block of instruction, "Lesson 2311: Puerto Rico-Overview" consisted of little more than a viewing of a thirty-minute film, "Island in America."[339] Narrated by San Juan-born screen and stage actor Raúl Juliá, the short film related the problems of Puerto Rican migrants in the US, their struggles against racial discrimination and poverty, and included commentary by Joseph Monserrat, then President of the New York City Board of Education, and

[339] *Island in America* narrated by Raúl Juliá, Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith/DMS Productions, 1972.

Congressman Herman Badillo, who, in 1971, became the first Puerto Rican elected to Congress in the United States. The second block of instruction, "Puerto Rican-History" offered a more expansive course plan, albeit one that more closely resembled a high-school social studies course than an immersive cultural learning plan. Lesson objectives included:

1) Acquaint the student with the culture of the Taino Indians.
2) Review and study the Spanish colonization of the Island and its attitude toward the Taino Indians.
3) Examine the development of the economy and its effects on:
    a) The Taino Indians
    b) The importation of slaves from Africa
4) Review Spain's response to political developments on the island up to the US occupation[340]

The sole assigned reading came from Kal Wagenheim's *Puerto Rico: A Profile* (1970), wherein Wagenheim offered this synoptic version of Puerto Rican history: "Puerto Rico's earliest citizens—some 30,000 copper-skinned Taíno Indians—were killed, frightened off, or absorbed by Spanish colonizers in the sixteenth century. Next came an influx of African slaves."[341] Elaborating further on the "genetic bouillabaisse" of Puerto Rican racial identity, Wagenheim noted: "Since the Spaniards brought few women with them, the black, white, and red races were mixed in a stew that has bubbled quietly for five centuries."[342] This "stew", according to Wagenheim, produced the multi-racial "skin spectrum" of Puerto Rican racial identification ranging from *blanco* ("white") to *prieto* ("dark-skinned") to *negro* ("black") and finally to the all-encompassing *trigueño* ("olive-

[340] Lesson outline 2311, "Puerto Rico—Overview." 31. Box 3. Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. Commanders Handbook: Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.
[341] Kal Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico: A Profile* (New York: Praeger, 1970). 92.
[342] Ibid.

skinned). To what extent, if any, students discussed the ethno-racial implications of phenotypic diversity among Puerto Ricans and their subjection to racial discrimination on either the island or in the US is left unclear from the course outline.

The second block of instruction for Lesson Outline 2311, "Puerto Rico—Return to Colonization" recounted the colonial occupation of Puerto Rico by the U.S. Lesson objectives were outlined accordingly:

1) Acquaint the student with the US military occupation of the island
2) Analyze and study the development of nationalism on the island
3) Acquaint the student with the economic situation and political developments during the period 1940-1968[343]

In "analyzing the development of nationalism on the island" DRRI students briefly touched on the period 1900-1950, when Puerto Rican nationalism reached new heights. After three decades of US colonial rule, when US economic penetration and industrialization of island plantation economies led to widespread poverty and out-migration, political discontent festered. Thereafter, island inhabitants placed their faith in Pedro Albizu Campos, a veteran of the First World War, the first Puerto Rican graduate of Harvard Law School, and leader of the Nationalist Party. A gifted orator and unyielding revolutionary, Campos led the Nationalist Party from 1930 until his death in 1965. Tensions were particularly acute during the early 1930s, when a sequence of skirmishes erupted between nationalists and police officials. In 1936, Albizu Campos and other nationalist leaders were charged and convicted of seditious conspiracy following

[343] Lesson outline 2311, "Puerto Rico—Return to Colonization." 32. Box 3. Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. Commanders Handbook. Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

the murder of E. Francis Riggs, the island's American police chief.[344] In the aftermath of Albizu Campos's conviction, Governor Blanton Winship authorized the execution of a group of nationalist protestors in what was subsequently deemed the Ponce Massacre. The mass killing of nineteen civilians--peacefully marching with the Nationalist Party at the time of the shooting--alongside the imprisonment of the era's most vocal *independista,* greatly weakened the independence movement.

In 1940, the US Naturalization Act designated Puerto Rico as an incorporated territory, intended on extending the right of *sus joli* citizenship to Puerto Rican residents. But the revised naturalization statute proved little consolation against endemic poverty wrought by US controlled sugar manufacturers. Known as the "Poorhouse of the Caribbean," almost half of the nation's 1.1 million inhabitants were unemployed. Those that did find employment were primarily concentrated in sugar cane cultivation, largely controlled by US companies. Per capita income hovered at a mere $121. During this same period, US militarization of Puerto Rico accelerated, with the establishment of Camp Santiago, a Puerto Rican National Guard training facility, in Salinas. Considered a critical site for the armed forces' presence in the Western Hemisphere, the following year saw the forced displacement of thousands of residents from the island of Culebra, as the US Navy installed a marine base, laying claim to 1,700 acres of the ten square mile island and air space above. Additionally, the island of Vieques was cleared of inhabitants and natural vegetation to make way for the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station, a massive military

[344] Ronald Fernandez contends that Riggs's murder was brought on by Riggs's personal involvement in an assassination attempt on Albizu Campos. Ronald Fernandez, *Prisoners of Colonialism: The Struggle for Justice in Puerto Rico* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994). 41-43.

base encompassing two-thirds of the island (32,000 acres) and three harbors, to be used as a testing site for bombing and shooting drills.

The final selected reading for the course section drew on excerpts from Latin American historian Earl Parker Hanson's *Puerto Rico: Ally for Progress* (1962), centering on the political ascension of Luis Muñoz Marín, who in 1952 became the first democratically elected Governor of Puerto Rico. A former *independista* and socialist, Muñoz Marín had come to admire the Roosevelt's administration's New Deal platform. In the early 1950s, he oversaw the implementation of the *Estado Libre Asociado* (ELA), widely regarded to mean Commonwealth of the United States, which served as a third option between independence and statehood, both of which appeared increasingly unlikely. To Marín, and a vast segment of the population, it had become increasingly clear that independence from the US would most certainly destitute the island. As Puertorriqueños looked to their fellow Caribbean neighbors, they became acutely aware that their economic and social destiny was inexorably bound to the US, with US economic access a vital way to ensure a higher standard of living than they would be able to maintain without. Though Commonwealth status permitted the adoption of a Puerto Rican Constitution, its contribution to fundamentally altering the island's subordinated, colonial relationship with the US remained unchanged, though it did allow the US to "rebuff accusations of colonialism at the height of the Cold War."[345] Following suit, Hanson likewise rebuked notions of colonialism. For him, Marín's political rise signaled

[345] Ashley Leane Black, "From San Juan to Saigon: Shifting Conceptions of Puerto Rican Identity During the Vietnam War" (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 2012) 23.

an end to Puerto Rico's embittered colonial history. As he noted in his text, "When a colonial subject wins an election on a revolutionary platform, and the ruling nation says, 'it is a fine idea, we will help you all we can,' *the spirit of colonialism has fled*. Today, Puerto Rico is no longer a colony."[346]

The creation of the ELA briefly provoked a violent upsurge in nationalist sentiment, including an attempt by nationalists to assassinate President Harry Truman in 1950. Nonetheless, the legislation carried support by a large segment of the Puerto Rican populace for the next two decades. [347] Under Marín's leadership, and the entrenchment of his Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in electoral affairs, independence became a waning issue as the vast majority of island inhabitants now lent their support to either the Commonwealth or statehood option. Meanwhile, Marín focused on developing a rapid export oriented industrialization program, "Operation Bootstrap" premising the island's economic development on foreign private investment, replete with tax exemptions for US companies, loan assistance programs, and wage and rent subsidies.[348] With economic prosperity on the horizon, Puerto Rican voters adopted Marín's Commonwealth model in 1952. But alongside Puerto Rico's transformative economic recovery, came another major shift that would define the decade. Since the early nineteenth century, Puerto Rican

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[346] Earl Parker Hanson, *Puerto Rico: Ally for Progress* (Princeton, NJ: Van Nostrand, 1962), 17.

[347] Margaret Power, "The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party and Transnational Solidarity: Latin American Anti-colonialism vs. the United States during the Cold War in Latin America," 2013, in *Human Rights and Transnational Solidarity in Cold War Latin America*, ed. Jessica Stites Mor (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).

[348] Gina Pérez, *The Near Northwest Side Story: Migration, Displacement, and Puerto Rican Families* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 9.

policymakers and US officials alike had collectively fretted over the island's supposed overpopulation problem. As historian Laura Briggs documents, among US social scientists, philanthropists, and lawmakers, "excessive, uncontrolled reproduction was an obstacle to capital formation" otherwise known as "development."[349] In addition to implementing family planning programs, emigration to the US was widely encouraged by Marín and other policymakers as a solution to overpopulation, but also stood as a "cornerstone of the island's economic development policy."[350] In the wake of the Second World War, roughly a quarter of the Puerto Rican population relocated to the mainland in search of opportunity. According to César Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, between 1950 and 1970, twenty-seven percent of the 1950 population of Puerto Rico had migrated to the mainland.[351] For many, their aspirations lay unfulfilled, as the growing Puerto Rican population became one of the most impoverished and disenfranchised minority groups in the country, subject to rampant racial and social discrimination. But rather than address this point, DRRI Instructors Gonzalez and Silva continually invoked Hanson's decidedly triumphantalist account of Puerto Rican history:

> ACHIEVEMENTS
> Since the election of 1940, and with the help and support of the United States, Puerto Rico has among other things:
>
> 6) Extended that great impetus to all classes of Puerto Ricans to the point where thousands are today "civically employed" and giving their thoughts and labors

[349] Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2002) 116.
[350] Pérez, *The Near Northwest Side*, 9.

[351] César Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 194.

to improving their own lives, instead of expecting their government to do everything for them;

7) Abolished its former colonial status and created an unprecedented political relationship with its erstwhile imperial rulers which permits the former colony to proceed with its development at an unprecedented pace.[352]

Hanson's exultant narrative, praising Puerto Rico's presumed economic recovery and symbolic emancipation from colonialism, foreclosed a meaningful dialogue about the conditions of racialization, poverty, and inadequate access to resources characterizing the lives of a vast majority of Puerto Ricans living in the US. According to national studies, the median income for all "Spanish-speaking" households in 1971 hovered at just $7,500--not quite three quarters of the national median income-- while for Puerto Rican families, the number remained much lower at $6,200. Moreover, national averages maintained that nearly 90 percent of all Puerto Rican children dropped out of public education before reaching high school.[353] By the early 1970s, nearly 900,000 Puerto Ricans, both island and mainland born, resided in the US. Yet their elision from the "Puerto Rican" curriculum signals a concentrated omission by Gonzalez and Silva, who instead, chose to focus their next area of instruction, Lesson 2313 "Puerto Rican culture," on "a rural study of the island and *jibaro*." In so doing, they wholly disregarded the emergence and efflorescence of mainland Puerto Rican cultural identity, including activism by the Young Lords.[354]

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[352] Parker Hanson, *Puerto Rico: Ally for Progress*, 20.

[353] Barney Halloran, "No Simple Solution/No Hay Solución Simple" *Soldiers.* (October 1973), 5:3-5:14.

[354] Lesson outline 2312, "Puerto Rican Culture." 36. Box 3. Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, August 1972. Commanders Handbook/ Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

As with the "Mexican-American/Chicano" course study, Silva and Gonzalez refrained from discussing anti-war politics. As Montalvo argues, "We were like infantry soldiers on the field, we had enough to deal with. It wasn't simply a matter of academics. It wasn't about just taking a test. It put it us on a sharp point on what would help them out in race relations."[355] The belief, at least for Silva and Gonzalez, was that the activist socio-political agendas of groups like the Young Lords, who blended political theory with community organizing, exceeded the DRRI's mission for training in racial and cultural sensitivity. Though the Young Lords origins lay rooted in largely black and Puerto Rican urban struggles, their ideological orientation proved far too radical for Silva and Gonzalez. Privileging expansive notions of community, informed by a revolutionary spirit of resistance, and revolving around nationalist and *internationalist* concerns for the historical legacies of colonialism, the Young Lords advocated an emancipatory politics of self-determination incongruent with the liberal framework adopted by the "Puerto Rican" course study. As outlined in the Young Lords 13 Point Platform (1969):

> 2. WE WANT SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL LATINOS
> Our Latin Brothers and Sisters, inside and outside the united states, are oppressed by amerikkkan business. The Chicano people built the Southwest, and we support their right to control their fight against gringo domination and its (puppet) generals. The armed liberation struggles in Latino America are part of the war of Latinos against imperialism. QUE VIVA LA RAZA!
>
> 3. WE WANT LIBERATION OF ALL THIRD WORLD PEOPLE
> Just as Latins first slaved under spain and the yanquis, Black people, Indians, and Asians slaved to build the wealth of this country. For 400 years they have fought for freedom and dignity against racist Babylon (decadent empire). Third World

[355] Lt. Col. (Ret.) Dr. Frank Montalvo, interview by author.

> people have led the fight for freedom. All the colored and oppressed people of the world are one nation under oppression. NO PUERTO RICAN IS FREE UNTIL ALL PEOPLE ARE FREE![356]

By October of 1973, the "Latino Studies" curriculum was minimally expanded to include Cuban Americans, with two newspaper articles addressing the influx of Cuban immigrants within the Miami area since the late 1960s.[357]

CONCLUSION: MILITARY EXCEPTIONALISM & THE TRACTABILITY OF RACIAL LIBERALISM

The curricula for both the Black and Latina/o units of study conjure images of a radical pedagogical project, concerned with unsettling racist assumptions, histories, and attitudes. In many regards, the DRRI's Minority Studies Division proved successful in expiating short-term practices of racial abuse and mistreatment towards minorities vis-à-vis its intensive program of cultural sensitivity training. Indeed, the DRRI offers a compelling history of institutional reform. However, a closer inspection of the curriculum's strategic absences, especially the Latina/o Studies division, exposes the ways the DRRI re-inscribed ideas of national belonging, citizenship, and racialized military subjectivity.

As Jodi Melamed writes of the post-war ascendancy of racial liberalism in American political discourse, these "state-sanctioned antiracisms repressed counternationalisms and deflected criticisms of U.S. global power."[358] The

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[356] 13 Point Program and Platform of the Young Lords Organization (October 1969). Darrell Enck-Wanzer, ed., *The Young Lords: A Reader* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2010), 9.
[357] Syllabus for Minority Studies Division, October 1973. Commanders Handbook/ Syllabus. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.
[358] Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 10.

institutionalization of anti-racist discourse embodied in the DRRI's program of study represented an important step forward in combatting racism, but its emphasis on historical modes of racism simultaneously disavowed, contained, and repressed broader structural critiques of American military hegemony and US global imperialism. Put another way, even as the DRRI granted recognition to the historical conditions underwriting minority disenfranchisement in American life—political, economic, social, colonial, educational, cultural—it nonetheless effaced the military's own role in perpetuating and/or benefitting from these conditions. The Black and Latino Studies curricula, with emphases on "new white consciousness", personal behavior modification, and immersion in multicultural US history, however profound or consciousness-raising, nevertheless externalized racism to the domain of civil society. In so doing, DRRI agents preserved visions of the military as an exceptional site, autonomous from and in contradistinction to racial inequalities abounding in American public life. The DRRI's ability to absorb, systematize, and re-calibrate minority difference as a material expression of the military's commitment to cultural pluralism (diversity), elucidates the flexible logics of racial liberalism's expansive capacity for organizing and structuring race. Despite its sustained promotion of racial tolerance and inclusivity, the American military could not evade the disparities of race informing its own constitution; a reality made apparent by the rising presence of Latina/o service-members and the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

"El Soldado Americano": Latina/os, Racial Arithmetic, & the American Dream, 1973-1977

INTRODUCTION

In February 1973, Air Force Colonel Clarence Miller, the Deputy Director of Instruction with the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) issued a memorandum to DRRI Director Richard Hope, detailing grievances about the DRRI Minority Studies Division's attention to Latina/o personnel. In his two page memo, Miller noted rising criticism that the Institute was "very black-white oriented" and "does not address, in a meaningful way, the needs of minority servicemen who are not black."[359] Upon his detailed review of the program, Miller indicated the following actions were being taken:

a. Minority Studies Division is working on a Memo concerning a feasible ethnic identifier system for Latinos. The one presently proposed by OSD is not satisfactory.
b. Much more research effort must be directed toward minorities other than black. One of the difficulties our instructors have in including meaningful material on minorities is the absence of research in this area—except black.
c. The course should be expanded to provide more time for the *La Raza* block.

As Miller's memo makes clear, scrutiny over the DRRI's Latino program of study arose both from tension over perceived disregard for Latina/o issues, but was also materially underwritten by a paucity of Latina/o authored scholarship, as well as confusion over how to properly classify Latina/os given their heterogeneous racial, ethnic, linguistic, and

[359] Memorandum by Col. Clarence Miller, "Latino Awareness," February 6, 1973. p. 1. Box 3. "Curriculum." Defense Race Relations Institute. DEOMI. Patrick AFB, FL.

national-origin backgrounds. As senior DRRI consultant Lt. Col. Frank Montalvo (Ret.) recalls, "Our [DRRI] focus was primarily around African-Americans. Latina/os felt neglected. Other minority issues, women's issues, working-class issues, any of those other groups were considered relatively minor and secondary. *That was always an issue at DRRI."*[360] For an institution premised on advancing amicable race relations, the apparent indifference to Latina/o issues posed a serious crisis, with competition replacing friendliness between personnel. According to Montalvo, "There was a lot of friction and jealousy…and this sense that 'my problems are more important.' The African-Americans felt we [Latina/os] were riding on their coattails…on the Civil Rights Movement. They didn't see a need to talk about Latina/os and bilingual education or English language requirements."[361]

By late spring 1973, DoD officials could no longer afford to ignore Latina/o issues, including "English language requirements." Concerns over Latina/os' classification, representation, and treatment took center stage, hastened by three factors. First, as indicated by the 1970 US Census, Latina/os accounted for a rapidly accelerating portion of the US populace. At just under ten million, they constituted the second largest racial minority group in the country, meaning they would also increasingly comprise a

[360] Lt. Col. (Ret.) Dr. Frank F. Montalvo, interview by the author.

[361] Ibid. This was not the first time there was "friction" between African-American and Latina/o service personnel. In September 1972, a major racial incident occurred at Laredo AFB in South Texas, when approximately forty black airmen occupied a dining hall for several hours, making demands and airing grievances against the largely Mexican-American service personnel on base, whom they accused of racism. Among their grievances were: "lack of soul food, black styles of clothing, black records, music, greeting cards, and other black items at the Base Exchange, unreasonably high prices for 'Afro' haircuts at the BX barber shop, and excessive Spanish being spoken during conduct of official duties." No violence or property damage was reported, but the Department of the Air Force conducted major investigations into the situation for several months thereafter. Lt. Col. William McBride, "Report Inquiry at Laredo AFB, 1971." DRRI Box 001/ "Racial/EO Incidents." Fldr: "Incident, Laredo AFB, TX." DEOMI, Patrick, AFB, FL.

larger share of the United States Armed Forces (USAF). Second, as USAF officials initiated preparations for implementing the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) on July 1, 1973, they recognized the changing racial and ethnic composition of those that would be entering service. According to DRRI Director Hope, "The reality was that a major portion of individuals that were recruited for military at that time were coming from inner cities and *barrios*." Of the DRRI's specific role, Hope added: "It was not just about the demographics, but about knowing *who* these people were who were being recruited to the military."[362] Third, "knowing who these people [racial minorities] were" entailed identifying, acknowledging, and correcting USAF policies implicitly undermining Latina/o service personnel's well being. Such issues included: insufficient English language preparation for Spanish-dominant soldiers; neglecting to address racist behavior directed towards Latina/os; and lack of culturally relevant, Spanish oriented materials--music, movies, popular literature, food, grooming items--at post-exchanges, commissaries, and service clubs on military installations.

This chapter turns it attention to the calculus of race. Who were Latina/os? How should they be defined? And why did they matter to USAF policy-makers during the early-mid 1970s? By examining debates between DRRI personnel, the report by the 1972 Task Force on Military Justice, and the 1973 "Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier," this chapter traces federal efforts to consolidate Latina/o service personnel under an identifiable, legible, and quantifiable label of ethno-racial classification. Throughout this chapter, I explicate how struggles over the meanings and assignment of a pan-ethnic

[362] John Hope, interview by the author, phone interview, April 5, 2016.

category of *Latinidad* expose how Latina/os disrupted the black-white racial binary of the US racial paradigm. Further, this chapter connects tensions over the formal recognition and institutionalization of *Latinidad* to three broader social phenomena: the demographic ascension of US Latina/os, the military's transition to an All-Volunteer Force, and the increasing import of neoliberal doctrine in American life and culture. By mid-decade, military leaders increasingly turned their attention towards the nation's burgeoning Latina/o population, hailed by a *TIME* magazine cover story in 1978 as soon to become America's "Biggest Minority."[363] Finally, this chapter argues that the move towards culturally recognizing Latina/o military personnel worked in tandem with the military's shift towards embracing a neoliberal model of race and citizenship, predicated on disavowing structural critiques of racism, in favor of a politically nullified and socially palatable form of multiculturalism.

"WHAT ARE YOU OR WHAT DO YOU WANT TO BE CALLED?": CLASSIFYING AMERICANS OF "SPANISH DESCENT"

In April 1972, Secretary of Defense Laird commissioned the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces to investigate claims of disproportionate punishment directed towards minority personnel. Headed by Nathaniel R. Jones, general counselor for the NAACP and General C.E. Hutchin Jr., the fourteen-member panel devoted most of its eight month long study to examining racial disparities administered under the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ). The task force's

[363] George Russell, "Its Your Turn in the Sun." *TIME* (October 16, 1978), 48-61.

ensuing 261-page report also identified systemic patterns of racial discrimination against Latina/os in the areas of testing, classification, and language.[364] In a section titled "Americans of Spanish descent in the armed forces" task force authors relayed their frustration over the DoD's classification system which did not separately tabulate Latina/o personnel: "There are in this country some seven million Mexican Americans, four million Puerto Ricans and…five hundred thousand Cubans, Central and South Americans, and Dominicans. But, in the personnel statistics of the armed forces, *they do not exist."*[365]

Historically, DoD policy coded Latina/o service members, the majority of whom were of ethnic Mexican descent, as racially "Caucasian" in accordance with legal precedents established during the 19th century.[366] Thus, most of the estimated 500,000 Latina/os who served during World War II did so in racially integrated combat units, with the exception of the 65th Infantry Regiment ("Boriquaneers") the only-all Puerto Rican combat unit. However, given the military's policy of racial segregation, phenotypically

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364 The task force was composed of five white generals, five black civilians, three white civilians, and one Puerto Rican civilian—Judge John Caro of the New York City Criminal Court. Hereafter referred to as Task Force Report. Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice, *Report of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972).

365 Emphasis added. Ibid,106.

366 The literature on historical and legal constructions of whiteness in relation to Mexican-Americans is vast. In *re Rodriguez* (1897), a Texas federal court held that Mexican-origin persons were considered "White" for purposes of naturalization, owing to terms stipulated in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) granting citizenship to all persons residing in the territory ceded by Mexico to the US. In 1940, the US Census Bureau, bowing to widespread pressure from the Mexican government, Mexican-American advocacy groups, and the US Department of State, classified Mexican-Americans as "white." It should be noted that despite their legally conferred status as "White," Mexican-Americans through much of the 19th and 20th centuries were discursively produced through regimes of western colonialism as "foreign" or racial "Others." George A. Martinez, "The Legal Construction of Race: Mexican-Americans and Whiteness," *JSRI Occasional Paper #54*, The Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, 2000. See also, Ian Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006)

darker-skinned or black Latina/os, primarily Puerto Ricans, served in separate "coloured" units.[367] A notable case is that of Esteban (Stephen) Hotesse, a Dominican-born soldier, who served with the famed Tuskegee Airmen, the U.S.'s first African-American military air squadron.[368] Racial segregation in the military persisted throughout the Korean War (1950-1953), with "dark-skinned" Puerto Ricans assigned to the "all-Negro" 24th Infantry Regiment.[369]

By the mid-1960's, the draft and subsequent entry of tens of thousands of Latina/os into the MACV-era armed forces, made clear that USAF policy-makers insufficiently accounted for Latinos' distinct ethno-racial experiences. The task force's findings constituted the first time USAF officials formally recognized "Americans of Spanish Descent" as a separate minority group.[370] In their investigation, task force authors noted that Latina/os were subject to "cultural discrimination" largely related to their "differentness" as registered by language: speaking Spanish and/or non-standard English.[371] Likewise, the failure of the services to separately track Latina/o personnel, according to task force authors, carried substantial implications: "This failing has particularly serious consequences for Americans of Spanish descent because it leads

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[367] According to Silvia Alvarez Curbelo, draft boards in Puerto Rico largely assigned darker-skinned ("Puerto Rican Negroes") to separate units where they either served with African-American troops or in Puerto Rico's National Guard 285th or 296th regiments. In these positions, they saw little combat, but instead, served in low-level service occupations; many of these segregated units were dispatched as support units in the Caribbean. Silvia Alvarez Curbelo, "The Color of War," in *Beyond the Latino World*, 116-119.
[368] Hotesse is one of the estimated 300 Dominican-Americans who served with the US military during World War II. Research has yet to reveal how many of these veterans served in segregated integrated units. Juleyka Lantigua-Williams, "An Unknown Latino Tuskegee Airman has been Discovered." *The Atlantic*. November 5, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/11/unknown-latino-tuskegee-airman-discovered/433479/>
[369] Phillips, *War! What is it Good*, 131.
[370] Ibid, 26.
[371] Ibid, 64.

directly to both a failure to perceive they have problems in the military and to a distorted understanding of what those problems are."[372]

Until 1977, the Army in particular, utilized a subjective classification system, whereby clerks filing the enlisted member's form visually determined a person's race or ethnic group. According to Army Major Don Rojas, a staff officer with the Office of Equal Opportunities Program (OEOP), "Rarely was the individual asked, 'what are you or what do you want to be called?"[373] Spanish-language surnames and skin color employed as "obvious indicators for determining ethnic background," left lingering questions about how Afro-Cuban, Afro-Boricua, Dominican, and other phenotypically Afro-Latina/o soldiers were categorized.[374] As of 1977, the Army utilized four racial categories: Caucasian, Black, Other, or Unknown. This caused dismay among Latina/o soldiers, some of whom, like Sgt. 1st Class Raul Vera, flatly rejected the oft applied "Caucasian" and/or "Other" label as an inaccurate portrayal of his ethno-racial identity, experiences, and heritage. Vera grumbled, "I have strong feelings about those words. I don't like them. I don't want to be an Other or Unknown for the rest of the time I have to wear this uniform—not if someday I'm expected to die in it."[375]

When it came to ethnicity, confusion persisted about what categories would be both sensitive to soldier self-identification, while also providing an accurate portrait of demographic diversity. It was an issue highlighted by the 1972 Task Force, which argued

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[372] Ibid, 106.
[373] SP5 Manuel Gomez, "El Soldado Americano." *Soldiers.* August 1977. 30.
[374] To this day, it is still very difficult to calculate the percentage of Afro-Latina/o soldiers serving in the military prior to the late 1970s, when more sophisticated forms of classification were employed.
[375] Ibid.

that extant classifications for Latina/os were inadequate. Task force authors asserted that "Americans of Spanish descent" should be the primary classification system denoting "Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Central and Latin Americans, and/or others of Spanish speaking origin, with a distinct and separate classification for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans who are also native Americans."[376] The following year, USAF officials adopted the term "Spanish-descent" for Latina/o soldiers, but this term did not appease everyone.

Following Miller's memorandum, in March 1973, Lt. Col. Montalvo, then Chief of the DRRI Minority Studies Division, prepared a three-page memorandum addressed to Miller criticizing the OSD's classification system for non-black racial minorities. In particular, Montalvo took issue with DoD's use of Code "A", abbreviated as "Span-Dscnt" (Spanish-Descent) referring to: "all personnel of Spanish extraction except when delineated separately."[377] Separate delineations of code "B" for "Mexican-Americans" [or "Chicanos"], code "C" [INS-PR] for Insular Puerto Ricans, designated as "those born and reared in Puerto Rico," code "D" [OTH-PR] referring to "those personnel born or reared outside geographical entity of Puerto Rico," and code "E", for Cuban-Americans (no explanation provided) appeared problematic to Montalvo. By Montalvo's logic, separate coding systems for groups B-E, "does not clearly allow for presentation of total number of individuals with similar ethnic backgrounds."[378] Because Mexican-Americans,

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[376] Ibid, 28.
[377] Lt. Col. Frank F. Montalvo to Col. Clarence A. Miller, memorandum, "Ethnic Group Designation," March 6, 1973. Box 002/History. Folder "Ethnic Designation." Defense Race Relations Institute, Patrick AFB, FL.
[378] Ibid.

Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and "Other" Latina/os [Dominicans, Columbians, Peruvians, and Central Americans] shared Spanish ancestry, Montalvo felt a mechanism should exist for collecting aggregate data on the total number of Latina/os: "there is no generic designator that serves to identify totals of those coded A through E." Following suit, Montalvo recommended, "that the term 'Latino' be used to report summary data for codes A through E." In contrast to the US Census, which in 1970 utilized the category "Spanish-origin," and later adopted the term "Hispanic," Montalvo suggested using another pan-ethnic identifier:

> That the designation, Latino, be used as the official generic descriptive term for all personnel with similar Central and South American, Caribbean, and Iberian cultural origins. The Spanish derivation, Latino, rather than the Anglo equivalent, Latin, more accurately reflects the Hispanic ethnic identification being sought.

Montalvo did not stand alone in his preference for "Latino" to "Hispanic." Master Sergeant José Lopez of the Southwest Regional Recruiting Command in San Antonio, Texas, felt "Hispanic" was insufficient: "Although Hispanic is used for statistical purposes only, the term itself is part of the problem. Hispanic, in reality, divides us into different categories—Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, but it doesn't include South Americans. Concurring with Montalvo's assessment, Lopez noted, "However, use of the term 'Latino' would include all present Hispanics plus the South Americans. As one identifiable group it would be easier to provide statistics on the total number of Latinos."[379] Major Don Rojas, a staff officer with the Office of Equal Opportunity

[379] SP5 Manuel Gomez, "El Soldado Americano." 29.

agreed, adding, "If the term 'Latino' is more inclusive, then adoption of the term should be seriously considered."[380]

Montalvo's memorandum went unheeded. By 1975, DoD officials adopted the term "Hispanic" in accordance with revised federal guidelines—a process formally initiated two years earlier. In April 1973, members of the Subcommittee on Minority Education, a division of the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE), completed a report entitled, "Higher Education for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians."[381] But the report itself was never published after educators of Puerto Rican, Cuban, Mexican and Native American descent assembled to discuss the report, stormed out of its meeting, incensed over how it wrongly identified racial minorities. According to Grace Flores-Hughes, a member of the "Special Concerns" section of HEW, "they came ready for bear."[382] Nonetheless, FICE forwarded the report to HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger for comment. In turn, Weinberger encouraged members to "…(1) coordinate development of common definitions for racial and ethnic groups." [383] In June 1974, FICE hastily established the Ad Hoc Committee on Racial and Ethnic Definitions to implement Weinberger's recommendations under the helm of newly named Chairman, Charles E. Johnson Jr., Assistant Chief, Population Division of the Census Bureau. Over the course of a year, members of the Ad Hoc committee, which included African-Americans, Asian and Pacific Islanders, whites, and Native Americans,

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[380] Ibid.
[381] *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Racial and Ethnic Definitions of the Federal Interagency Committee on Education*, report no. S0-008-950 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), 8.
[382] Darryl Fears, "The Roots of Hispanic." Washington Post. October 15, 2003. A21.
[383] *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Racial and Ethnic Definitions of the Federal Interagency Committee on Education*, Report No. S0-008-950 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), 8.

held contentious meetings with arguments erupting over such terms as "colored" and "Oriental." But the most explosive debates centered on developing classifications for the "Spanish speaking" community.

Several prominent group members included Flores-Hughes of HEW, Felipe Garcia of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Abdín Noboa-Rios, of the National Institute of Education, and Paul Planchón of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB).[384] Recalls Noboa-Rios, "there was never any consensus in that group to the very end. There were some bad feelings. I know two people didn't speak for up to a year after it was over."[385] Noboa-Rios himself preferred the term "Latina/o," derived from the Latin based Romance languages of Spain, France, Italy, and Portugal. Several members suggested, "Hispano" but were overruled by those that felt "Hispanic"—a US derivation of "Hispaña", referring to the cultural diáspora created by Spanish conquest, would be less confusing, despite its rare usage outside of the US. In April 1975, the Ad Hoc Committee formally adopted "Hispanic" to refer to "persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race."[386] According to the Ad Hoc committee's report, a majority of members felt prior references to Spanish language or surnames for identificatory purposes were inappropriate standards, since "Spanish speaking" excluded many who were English language dominant or monolingual English-speakers, nor did all

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[384] Interestingly, no members of the CCOSP were designated as members of the Ad Hoc Committee. However, the Ad Hoc Committee did include Leon McGaughey, a representative of the Department of the Army. Ibid, 5.
[385] Darryl Fears, "The Roots of Hispanic." Washington Post. October 15, 2003. A21.
[386] Ibid, 13.

members of the community hold Spanish surnames. The report concluded, "the term Hispanic was selected because it was thought to be descriptive of and generally acceptable to groups to which it is intended to apply."[387] In the end, Noboa-Rios conceded, "we came up with an agreement. For the purposes of the census it was important to know who we were, because we were an underrepresented population."[388]

As Noboa-Rios's point makes clear, the issue of "Hispanic" versus "Latino" ethnonyms exceeded semantics. For Montalvo, Lopez, and other Latina/o military officials, there remained a serious undercount of the total percentage of Latina/os within the military; a fact highlighted in an extensive, bilingual *Soldiers* magazine article from October 1973: "Since the Census Bureau doesn't even know, its not surprising to discover that neither the Army nor the Department of Defense knows exactly how many Mexican-American, Cuban, Puerto Rican or other Latin people belong to the armed forces."[389] By mid-decade, Spanish surnamed individuals accounted for approximately 47,000 soldiers or five percent of the Department of the Army (DA).

Obtaining a precise count of the *total* number of USAF Latina/os members extended beyond mere bureaucratic imperative. If Montalvo and other interested officials could factually document an accurate percentage of Latina/o service personnel as a considerable and rising segment of the USAF—supported by an accumulative formula--it

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[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.
[389] According to a March 1972 Current Population Survey that attempted to correct errors present in the 1970 federal census, rough estimates indicated there were 5.3 million US residents of Mexican origin, 1.5 million of Puerto Rican origin, 630,000 of Cuban origin, and 1.8 million South American or other Spanish origin groups in the U.S Barney Halloran, "No Simple Solution/No Hay Solución Simple" *Soldiers.* (October 1973),5:3-5:14.

also meant they could justify expenditures and a broadening of resources devoted to aiding Latina/o service-members. Such resources, as highlighted by the 1972 Task Force report, included: developing equal opportunity programs and human relations councils devoted to Latina/o heritage and culture; increased efforts to recruit Latina/o "doctors, psychiatrists, lawyers, judges, and teachers"; additional ROTC programs emphasizing recruitment of Latina/os, and service-wide English language orientation programs for Latina/o personnel.[390] CCOSP Chairman Henry Ramirez echoed this sentiment in a 1974 letter to President Nixon. After visiting several military bases in West Germany, Ramirez had this to say:

> I had long talks with General Jones concerning the treatment of minorities, and especially the Spanish-speaking minority. I told him that I was convinced that the first step that must be carried out to bring full opportunity to the Spanish speaking in the armed services is through their identification, an accurate count that would show their age, grade, time in service, skill level, location and major command. I explained to him that only in this way can we determine where the Spanish speaking are and how they are progressing.[391]

Montalvo underscored Ramirez's point about accurately assessing Latina/o military personnel in his memorandum's second major contention, regarding the OSD's separate coding system between "C" [Insular] and "D" [Other] Puerto Ricans. Montalvo believed

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[390] Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice, *Report of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972). 28.

[391] Ramirez is referring to General David C. Jones, Commander in Chief, US Air Forces in Europe, Ramstein, Germany. Henry Ramirez to President Richard Nixon, May 30, 1974, Box 15. White House Central Files: FG 145: Robert H. Finch Collection. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, Yorba Linda, CA.

that problems and concerns between raised Puertorriqueños on the island and those raised elsewhere did not warrant separate codes.[392] As outlined in his memorandum:

> Lack of educational and economic opportunities; ready access to and from Puerto Rico and U.S. urban centers; discrimination experienced in the United States; and resulting insulation of North American barrio communities leading to "Island in America" viewpoints, are among the factors which maintain greater similarity than dissimilarity among Puertorriqueños. [393]

For Montalvo, the dire economic, social, and political circumstances characteristic of Puerto Rican origin communities, both mainland and islander, merited serious and urgent federal attention; a sentiment shared by Manuel A. Gonzalez, New York Director of Hispanic Community Relations and a CCOSP member. In October 1973, Gonzalez drafted a letter to Tobin Armstrong, Counselor to President Nixon requesting intervention on behalf of New York's Puerto Rican community: "It is the general consensus of the populace [Puerto Rican-Hispanics] that New York and other Eastern seaboard areas are bypassed or inadvertently recognized in matters that are vital. Very little consideration is given to this sector of the country when it comes to employment and programmatic opportunities."[394] As with the DRRI's curriculum, and much of the military's own

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[392] Montalvo was born in 1931 in San Juan, Puerto Rico but brought to the US as a young child and raised in New York City. Montalvo served in the Army Medical Corps before obtaining his BA and MA in Social Work from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and subsequently his PhD in Social Psychology from University of Southern California (USC). Lt. Col. (Ret.) Frank F. Montalvo, interview by author.

[393] Lt. Col. Frank F. Montalvo to Col. Clarence A. Miller, memorandum, "Ethnic Group Designation," March 6, 1973. Box 002/History. Folder "Ethnic Designation." Defense Race Relations Institute, Patrick AFB, FL.

[394] Manuel A. Gonzalez to Tobin Armstrong, October 11, 1973. FG 145, Box 8. Interagency on Mexican-American Affairs, Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Archives, Yorba Linda, CA. The issue of federal representation of Puerto Ricans had been longstanding. Two years earlier, in August 1971, fifty members of the Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs threatened to publicly oppose the Senate's confirmation of Mexican-American Henry Ramirez as Chairman of the CCOSP, amidst criticism that two Mexican-Americans previously held the position and that Puerto Ricans occupied only three positions of

material regarding Latina/os, emphasis tended to be placed on Mexican-Americans, given their numerical dominance with the US Latina/o populace. But unlike their Mexican-American or other Latina/o peers, a far higher percentage of Puerto Rican soldiers faced an additional hurdle: English language proficiency.

English language acquisition and proficiency among Puerto Rican soldiers had long been a problem for the US military. As of 1970, sixty percent of all inducted Puerto Rican soldiers were functionally illiterate in English.[395] For many Puerto Ricans born and raised on the island, knowledge of formal English constituted less of an issue, than familiarity with conversational English. The Puerto Rican public education system required English language instruction from first through twelfth grades, but outside of formal schooling, Spanish remained the dominant spoken idiom. Beginning in 1969, all Puerto Rican soldiers born, raised, and inducted on the island were sent to the Defense Language Institute English Language Center (DLIELC) at Fort Jackson, South Carolina.[396]

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the twenty-five CCOSP members. Paul Delaney, "US Panel Scored by Puerto Ricans." *New York Times.* August 11, 1971. p. 19. In July 1970, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller also drew attention to the matter, writing a letter to President Nixon encouraging further appointments of Puerto Ricans to the CCOSP: "the largest segment of the Hispanic Americans in the Northeast has been left with very little representation so far." Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller to President Richard Nixon, July 30, 1970. FG 145, Box 8. Interagency on Mexican-American Affairs. Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Archives, Yorba Linda, CA.

[395] Halloran, "No Simple Solution/No Hay Solucion,"5-12.

[396] Built in 1917, largely with the aid of Puerto Rican laborers, Fort Jackson was an early site of English language instruction for Spanish-speakers developed out of an effort to train Cuban exiles interested in joining the military. Known as the "Cuban Volunteer Program", in early January 1963, nearly 1, 700 Cuban enlistees arrived at Fort Jackson from Fort Knox, KY to begin basic training for twenty-two weeks. Assigned to the 3rd Regiment, enlistees initially received Spanish language basic and advanced training. To aid with their adjustment, lesson plans, applicable memoranda, regulation and circulars, notices, and even post signs were translated into Spanish. Likewise, they took several hours worth of English language instruction. By April, there were fourteen companies of Cuban soldiers, totaling more than 2,700. However, by late July the number of enlistees dropped and the program discontinued. "50th Anniversary History,

At Fort Jackson, Puerto Rican recruits received three weeks of training. Courses lasted five days a week, with six hours a day spent learning spoken English and two hours a day devoted to military subjects. After three weeks of training, students were tested by listening to tape recordings in English, then required to correctly answer thirty-one out of one hundred questions on an English-language written exam. Upon passing the course, students were permitted to enter basic training. However, if they failed, they would have to repeat the same three weeks of training, with no more than a total of nine weeks of training permissible. Thereafter, soldiers were required to take one of several aptitude tests (depending on military branch) to determine their individual probability for success and military occupational specialty (MOS).[397] However, all aptitude tests were administered in English. Given the low-standards (roughly thirty percent) for passage of the English language exam at DLIELC, its not surprising most Puerto Rican soldiers scored poorly on the ACB, ASVAB, and other aptitude tests. This translated into lower MOS scores and subsequent pipelining of many Puerto Rican soldiers into infantry

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1917-1967," Fort Jackson, South Carolina, accessed March 31, 2016, http://jackson.armylive.dodlive.mil/post/museum/50th-anniversary-history/.

[397] Since World War II, the Army and Navy administered individual classification tests—the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) and Navy General Classification Test respectively. The most widely used among the military branches was the AGCT, which the Marine Corps also employed, in testing for general ability, while the NGCT was more widely employed to determine MOS. From 1950-1972, all branches of the military adopted the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT), a screening device used to (a) measure examinees' general ability for military training, and (b) provide a uniform measure of examinees' potential usefulness in the military. In addition to using the AFQT, each branch used service specific tests: Army Classification Battery (ACB), the Navy Basic Test Battery (NBTB), and the Airman Qualification Examination (AQE). First introduced in 1968, the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) was initially used only by the Air Force and Marine Corps, before the DoD stipulated in 1974, its usage by all branches of the military" ASVAB: History of Military Testing," ASVAB, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://official-asvab.com/history_res.htm.>

divisions, service and supply handling, and other similarly low-skilled occupations, leaving little opportunity for promotion or selection for specialized or advanced skills training. An opponent of English language aptitude tests, Brigadier General Antonio Rodriguez-Balinés, commander of the Army Reserve Forces in Puerto Rico argued, "Its not an intelligence test. If you really want to measure intelligence, the test must be in the native tongue in which that applicant was educated."[398] Moreover, the problem was not limited to island-born Puerto Rican soldiers. No military wide program existed to assist non-insular Puerto Rican Latina/o soldiers, including Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans (many of whom were "Nuyoricans"), Dominicans, Cuban-Americans, or others, for whom English was a second language. Yet by one estimate, nearly 30% of Mexican American adults could not read or write in English.[399] Thus, their achievement on aptitudes tests was similarly inhibited. The issue of English language aptitude tests was earlier addressed by the 1972 Task Force, which identified English-only aptitude tests as a serious impediment to Spanish dominant soldiers and recommended that "service tests be administered by persons familiar with the language and be written in the language of the person taking the test, thereby making it possible for test results to reveal the individual's full capabilities."[400] But this portion of the task force's recommendation was not implemented.

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[398] SPF 5 Gomez, "El Soldado Americano,"29.
[399] Halloran, "No Simple Solution/No Hay Solucion,"5-7.
[400] Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice, *Report of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice in the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972). 28.

The social implications of Latina/o performance on aptitude tests proved insidious. Time and again, Latina/os reported systemic discrimination based on widespread perceptions they were "dumb", "slow" or "incompetent" owing to their accents or restricted English conversational ability. According to Captain Elíu Camacho-Vásquez, former Chief of Ethnic Studies at DRRI:

> Language shock magnifies cultural shock. It hits Latinos who don't understand or speak English. This is compounded by the discrimination that already exists. Because of an ingrained ethnocentrism in the Army, and military generally, when a person from a different culture and background comes on active duty, he's automatically rejected or programmed for failure. If he can't be rejected for anything else, his lack of English is used against him. During basic training (BT), when a Latino soldier is told to do something and he doesn't do it, its usually a matter of not understanding what was said. Yet the emphasis may be on the fact he didn't do it.[401]

Recalls one young Puerto Rican soldier who completed BT at Fort Polk, Louisiana, "I didn't like the drill sergeant making fun of my accent. I never had to speak a lot of English on the island, so I need to practice a little, but he doesn't need to make fun of me. It makes me mad."[402] Added Captain Vásquez-Camacho, "Its usually an asset to speak and think in two different languages. But when a person has an accent, too many officers and NCO's equate that with stupidity."[403]

In addition to facing harassment for being "slow," estimates indicate that English limited proficiency Latina/o soldiers cognitively missed between 20-30% of all training and military knowledge during BT. While they might pass BT, they faced additional problems when proceeding to Advanced Individual Training (AIT). If soldiers fared

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[401] SPF 5 Gomez, "El Soldado Americano,"29.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid.

poorly during BT, they could potentially face discharge. Yet discharges did not reflect language difficulties. Rather, the military might cite "learning difficulties" or "sub-marginal intelligence" or employ another category before discharging soldiers. Regarding the omission of military English language proficiency schools and subsequent discrimination against Latina/o personnel, Sgt. 1st Class Vera bitterly observed: "Perhaps what the military is saying is that they don't need Latinos anymore. During war they need our muscle to hold a rifle and our bodies to stop bullets, but in peacetime we're ignored and kept in menial jobs."[404]

"A STUDY OF THE SPANISH-ETHNIC SOLDIER: ATTITUDES, PROBLEMS, NEEDS" (1973)

The military, and DA in particular, recognized racial discrimination against Latina/o personnel constituted a mounting problem. To this end, in 1973, DA officials, working with the US Army Research Institute for Behavior and Social Sciences (ARI) commissioned a study to better understand experiences by Latina/o service personnel, as well as assess their needs, treatment, and attitudes. Titled, *A Study of the Spanish Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs*, the 150-page quantitative report published in December 1973, was conducted by Lawrence Johnson & Associates (LJA), a Washington D.C. based research consulting firm. Over the course of several months, the think tank administered surveys, evaluations, and questionnaires to 1,000 Spanish-surnamed soldiers (pay grades E2-E9; O1-O4) and 600 Black, white, and "Other" soldiers at four stateside Posts (Fort Jackson, SC; Fort Ord, CA; Fort Carson, CO; and Fort Hood, TX)

[404] SPF 5 Gomez, "El Soldado Americano," 32.

and five communities in Germany.[405] Consisting primarily of a specially composed "Army Experience Survey" and an adapted "Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire," instructions for completing the surveys and all survey materials were executed in both English and Spanish, with each testing session carried out verbally by one English-speaking proctor and one bilingual LJA researcher.

In its "Summary of Findings", the report made three major claims:

1. Differences in self-concept were found for both rank and ethnic group.
2. Puerto Rican enlisted men reported significantly more problems and needs as compared to Chicano, Black, and White enlisted men
3. The data on attitudes toward Army personnel of all ethnic groups shows that Chicano, Puerto Rican, and enlisted men had more negative attitudes than White enlisted men, but the three minority groups did not differ among themselves.

The issue of "self-concept", or the "attitudes and beliefs an individual maintains about himself" comprised the report's first half, which began with an abbreviated three-page recap of sociological literature reviewing how discrimination affects racial minority groups. This section explicitly focused on "self-concept" developed in response to "interpersonal experiences." At issue, was the degree to which "negative experiences" of racism, discrimination, and/or harassment altered how Latina/o military personnel viewed themselves: "research suggests that to the extent that minority group individuals

[405] The report did not indicate which communities in Germany. All subjects for the study were male. Spanish-surnamed individuals' ethnicities included Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and "Other" (Cubans, Dominicans, Panamanians, and South Americans). Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973). 1; 11.

internalize stereotypes and negative attitudes held by the majority, minority group members will suffer lowered self-concept."[406]

Prior to 1972, few studies existed documenting Latina/o experiences with racism. In referencing a 1961 sociological study, LJA researchers noted most Anglo-Americans expressed assumptions that Mexican Americans were: "essentially inferior, undependable, irresponsible, childlike, indolent, unclean, and deceitful."[407] The report's authors also cited sociologist Ralph C. Guzmán's early 1967 work, arguing that dominant portrayals of Mexican-Americans in movies and other media, as "villainous, untrustworthy characters with shifty eyes and criminal proclivities" or as "sweet peasant-type persons who are courteous and direct" underwrote negative attitudes towards Mexican-Americans.[408] Regarding such portrayals, film historian Charles Ramírez Berg later argued that these stereotypes operated as "a negative mirror of dominant values…the sloppy, greasy appearance of *el bandido* in any number of Hollywood westerns, coupled with his nearly psychotic savagery and immorality, reflects poorly on Mexicans and Mexican Americans." According to Berg, "this stereotype—standing in sharp contrast to the Anglo hero—has another effect: it reinforces the cleanliness, sobriety, sanity, overall decency and moral rectitude" of Anglos. "In the case of

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[406] Ibid, 5.

[407] Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans." *Daedalus,* 1961. 286-299. 90. Referenced in Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973) 6.

[408] In his study of cinematic portrayals of Latina/os, film historian Charles Ramírez Berg identified six major stereotypes: "the Bandido, Half-Breed Harlot, Male Buffoon, Female Clown, the Latin Lover, and the Dark Lady." Charles Ramirez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion and Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002). 66-86.

Hispanics such portrayals mark them as symbols of ethnic exclusion."[409] Similar to concerns raised by Chicana/o activists, Guzmán also highlighted the liminal status of Mexican-Americans as existing "in a no man's land between full acceptance accorded persons of European stock and the outright rejection Blacks have come to expect."[410] Also noted in Guzmán's study, were assertions that, "Puerto Ricans were regarded as "loud, aggressive, uncouth, irresponsible, and generally viewed less positively than Mexican Americans."[411] LJA researchers likewise cited Anthony Dworkin's 1965 study on "Stereotypes and Self-Images held by Native-born and Foreign-born Mexican-Americans" wherein Dworkin found that foreign-born Mexican-Americans (FBMA) had significantly higher positive self-image than U.S. born Mexican-Americans (NBMA's). Dworkin's study attributed this fact to exposure to and immersion in US based racism. NBMA's used largely negative terms when describing themselves as "(a) emotional, (b) unscientific, (c) authoritarian, (d) materialistic, (e) old-fashioned, (f) short, fat, and dark, (g) poor and of a low social-class, (h) having little care for education, (i) mistrusted, and (j) lazy, indifferent, and unambitious."[412]

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[409] Charles Ramírez Berg, "Stereotyping in films in general and of the Hispanic in particular." *Howard Journal of Communications,* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer 1990). 286-300. 292.

[410] Ibid. Ralph C. Guzmán, "Mexican-American Study Project." Advance Report No. 3. University of California, Los Angeles (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1967). Cited in Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973).6-7. The first Mexican-American (and/or Latino) to earn a doctorate in political science in the US, Guzmán's report would later be incorporated into a massive 770 page book, titled, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority (*1970), produced in collaboration with fellow sociologists Leo Grebler and Joanne W. Moore.

[411] Ibid.

[412] A.G. Dworkin, "Stereotypes and self-images held by native-born and foreign-born Mexican Americans." *Sociology and Research,* Vol. 49. 1965.214-224. Cited in Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973).8.

To determine "self-concept" of Latina/os service-members, LJA researchers employed a modified "Army Experience Survey" (AES). After filling out a "Personal Data Questionnaire" consisting of fifteen questions concerning place and date of birth, marital status, pay grade, and other classification data, subjects completed the 36-question AES, so that researchers could "obtain an index of an individual's perception of himself." [413] Respondents were to select between five answer categories: Never, Seldom, Sometimes, Frequently, or Always. Section I sample questions included:

> 2. I question my worth as a person/ *Dudo de mi valor como persona*
> 12. I have feelings of inferiority/ *Tengo un complejo de inferioridad*
> 15. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what other people expect me to be/ *Para ser aceptado por los demás tiendo a ser como ellos quieran que yo sea.*
> 18. I think I'm crazy or something/ Creo que yo soy loco o algo parecido
> 29. I want to be like the typical soldier/ *Quiero ser como el soldado típico*
> 34. I live by other people's standards/ *Vivo acuerdo a los valores establecidos por otros*[414]

Subsequent report results indicated that Spanish-surnamed enlisted soldiers held a lower self-concept than the self-concept reported by either Black or White enlisted soldiers. Likewise, no major statistical difference between differing Spanish-surnamed ethnicities was documented.[415]

To examine the Army's role in augmenting or detracting from Latina/o military personnel self-concept, Section II consisted of a "Problems and Needs Scale," with 27 questions addressing: promotion and education, services, interactions with Army

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[413] Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973) 14.
[414] Ibid. Appendix C: Ethnic Group by Item Choice Chi-Square Analyses for all Pay-Grades. 3-4.
[415] "Executive Summary," Ibid. 23.

personnel, social life and recreation, and language facility (comprehension and speaking). Sample questions included:

> 38. I can get records, which I really want, in the PX/ *Puedo conseguir discos que verdaderamente quiero en el PX*
>
> 47. My educational opportunities in the Army are determined by how well I speak English/ *Mis oportunidades educativas en el Ejército dependen del dominio del inglés*
>
> 55. I have been called unacceptable names by my Army superiors/ *Mis superiores en el Ejército me han llamado con expresiones inaceptables*
>
> 58. My superiors show the same respect for my intelligence as they do for men from other ethnic backgrounds/ Mis superiores demuestran el mismo respeto a mi inteligencia que a la de los miembros de otros grupos étnicos.
>
> 61. The Army serves food that my ethnic group likes/*El Ejército sirve comidas que son del agrado de los de mi grupo étnico*

Regarding question 38 on the subject of music availability, including Spanish-language records in PX's, over 69% of Puerto Rican and 42% of Chicano enlistees responded they could *never* find music appropriate to their tastes.[416] Not surprisingly, and as previously discussed regarding English language correlates to military success, question 47 yielded a significantly high percentage of Spanish-surnamed soldiers responding affirmatively to the assessment. Among enlistees, nearly 60% of Puerto Rican, 32% of Chicanos, and 45% "Other" Spanish-surnamed groups conceded that English language fluency as a criterion *frequently* or *always* determined military educational opportunities. Consistent with responses by enlistees, among NCO's, 55% of Puerto Ricans, 25% of Chicanos, and

[416] Ibid, Appendix B: Percent Responses by Rank and Ethnic Group for Each Item in Sections II through IV of the Army Experience Survey, B-2.

21% of "Others" concurred that English proficiency determined probability for educational advancement. These numbers were far higher than those reported by Whites (9%) and (15%) of Blacks responding to the same question.[417] Regarding question 55, relating to racial or ethnic slurs ("unacceptable names"), both 25% or nearly 1/3 of Puerto Rican enlistees and NCO's declared they were either *always* or *frequently* recipients of inappropriate language, put-downs, or insults. This percentage exceeded that for Chicano enlistees/NCO's (19%) and Blacks (21%).[418] Widespread perceptions that Latina/o military personnel possessed lower intelligence likely accounts for LJA's inclusion of question 58. In response, nearly 21% of Puerto Rican NCO's and enlistees, as well as 15.2% of "Other" Spanish surnamed enlistees/ NCO's professed they were either *never* or *seldom* "shown the same respect for their [my] intelligence" as "men of other ethnic backgrounds."

As a social phenomenon, "respect" is an illusory concept, subject to and dependent upon differing cultural interpretations, definitions, social milieus, generational status, and a host of other context specific variables. Without personal testimony, it remains unclear which practices of behavior or attitudes by superiors, Puerto Rican and other Spanish-surnamed soldiers were referencing when they responded to question 58. However, it can be inferred from their responses that whether intentional or not, they nonetheless *perceived* their superior officers as refusing them corresponding amounts of respect concerning their intellectual capacities. Examples might include: using intellect-

[417] Ibid, Table B-47, B-11.
[418] Ibid, Table B-55, B-19.

based slurs (ie "dummy"), speaking in slower registers, or assigning lower-skilled or menial tasks—all documented examples of discrimination reported by Latina/o soldiers. Finally, relating to food preferences, among enlistees 57% of Puerto Ricans, 42% of Chicanos, and 42% of "Others" reported dissatisfaction with Latina/o food availability, relaying that the Army either *never* or *seldom* offered food "their ethnic group likes." This was a far higher percentage than the 20% and 22% asserted by Blacks and White enlistees respectively.[419]

Feedback from Section II confirmed two issues distinguishing the Army environment for Latina/o personnel, and thus underwriting their lowered "self-concept." First, Army administration disregarded, remained indifferent to, or otherwise failed in seriously considering quality of life issues for Latina/o soldiers. When compared to critical inquiries about overt racial discrimination, questions centering on material needs (ie music selection, food choice) might appear arbitrary. But in fact, they exposed overt contradictions between the Army's explicitly professed commitment to ensuring a racially inclusive, hospitable climate for soldiers of color and oversight in actualizing such conditions. Second, questions about institutional disparities—namely, English language proficiency and dynamics of "respect"—told a far more unpleasant story. Recalling Sgt. Vera's pronouncement that Latina/os were "ignored" during peacetime, the substantial quotient of Latina/o soldiers divulging experiences of racism, ranging from system-wide problems with English language instruction, to outright manifestations of racial degradation (i.e. ethnic slurs), and displays of hostility or mockery by superior

[419] Ibid, Table B-61, B-25.

officers, signaled fundamental neglect by the Army towards Latina/o service members. To the extent that Latina/os suffered indignities, adverse conditions, or even exploitation, their frustration bore out vis-à-vis internalizing their racial distress, thus engendering feelings of inadequacy, marginalization, and hopelessness—indices of self-concept. The report's final section, "Discussion and Conclusions" corroborated this point:

> "It appears that younger enlisted Chicanos and Puerto Ricans experience lower or negative self-concept. Since the Spanish-ethnic groups, especially the Puerto Ricans, report a high degree of problems and needs, it is likely that the experiences of significant problems in the military have had a negative effect on their self-concept. Perhaps then, problems and needs are an important factor in the formation of the self-concept of the Spanish-ethnic soldiers."[420]

However, rather than critiquing the Army for its failures to address systemic racism, the report's authors hypothesized a decidedly narrow-minded measure for ameliorating the lowered self-concept of Spanish-ethnic soldiers:

> It seems possible that as the Spanish-ethnic soldier succeeds in the Army and increases in rank or pay grade, that he begins to take on more of the ways of Anglos and becomes more Anglicized. As this process occurs, his self-esteem may increase though identification with the majority group and the resulting acceptance by the majority group.[421]

Thus, the "answer" to problems of Latino self-concept, according to report authors, lay with Latinos' ability to approximate whiteness and "acculturate" themselves to Anglo dominant values, viewpoints, and conceptions. This anachronistic assertion surfaced in stark contrast to the mission of the DRRI, and broader American sociological paradigms

[420] Ibid, 37.
[421] Ibid, 38.

privileging cultural pluralism and claims by racial minorities to embrace and/or express their racial identities.

Designed by LJA staff, section III, "Attitudes Toward Army Personnel Scale," measured soldier attitudes toward "Spanish ethnics"; Blacks and/or Whites; and interactions between "Spanish ethnic soldiers" and others. For this survey, LJA researchers did not employ the terms Chicano, Mexican-American, or Puerto Rican, but instead utilized "Spanish-speaking" and "Spanish-ethnic."[422] Like previous sections, Section III utilized a five-point self-rating scale ranging from "never" to "always" as a means of assessing to what extent each soldier believed a given statement agreed with his personal experience. Sample questions included:

> 66. White soldiers get away with doing a lot less work than Spanish-speaking inhabitants/
>
> *Los soldado blancos logran hacer menos trabajo que los soldados latinos*
>
> 69. Spanish-speaking soldiers get treated equal to White and Black soldiers in the Army/
>
> *Los solados latinos reciben igual trato que los soldados blancos en el Ejército*

Regarding question 66--perceptions that white soldiers fulfilled less work-duty, all racial minority groups, but primarily Puerto Ricans (26.6%), responded White soldiers *always* maintained diminished workloads compared to Spanish-speaking soldiers. Even when adjusting for rank, this opinion held true among both enlistees and NCO's, most likely reflecting the higher concentration of Whites in officer or other positions of authority,

[422] Ibid, 15.

where their share of labor-intensive or "grunt-work" was presumably lighter.[423] As to question 69, recognizing equality of treatment for Spanish-speaking soldiers, among enlistees, 47% or nearly half of Puerto Ricans, 32% of Chicanos, and 30% of "Other" groups felt they were either *never* or *seldom* afforded equal treatment compared to their White and Black counterparts.[424] Section IV of the Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire consisted of 153 multiple choice questions regarding the effectiveness of military race relations councils and DRRI training. Approximately half of Chicano and Puerto Rican NCO's and enlistees reported race-relations training to be *somewhat effective* in reducing tensions within the Army. [425]

Taken in aggregate, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs" revealed that Puerto Rican enlisted men reported substantially more problems compared to Chicano, Black, and White enlisted personnel. Chicano enlisted men expressed more problems and needs than Whites, but did not differ statistically from Black enlisted men. The vast majority of racial minorities, blacks and Spanish-surnamed soldiers, reported facing major problems regarding slow promotions because of racial bigotry; limited educational opportunities; being subject to harsher discipline (ie Article 15) than their white counterparts; discrimination in off-post housing; and difficulties with civilian merchants and police.[426]

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[423] Ibid, Table B66, B-30.
[424] There was no statistical difference between Spanish-ethnic enlistees and NCO's. While only 10% of Whites shared this same opinion, interestingly, nearly 30% of Blacks concurred with the majority of their Spanish-ethnic peers. Ibid, Table B-69, B-33.
[425] Ibid, 35.
[426] Ibid, 2.

The report rightly documented language as the most pervasive problem for Latina/o soldiers, particularly Puerto Ricans. Unlike Chicanos, largely reared in the American Southwest where they enjoyed more exposure to English, Puerto Rican recruits from the island as well as those hailing from Spanish-dominant US urban enclaves and households, received less immersion in English. Therefore, more Puerto Ricans described difficulty communicating with their superiors, thus causing them to receive undesirable assignments and oftentimes, harsher discipline. As a quality of life issue, English language deficiency created other conflicts for Puerto Ricans. For example, Puerto Rican soldiers reported waiting for longer periods of time before receiving service at Post hospitals than did other ethnic groups. Report authors ascribed this to "an inability to effectively communicate with the medic receiving them at the Post hospital. Consequently, they spend quite a bit of time trying to get medical attention from medics who cannot tell or will not determine what their medical need is."[427]

On the question of discrimination, language-based or otherwise, the report minced few words: "Discrimination against minority groups exists in the Army."[428] As evidence, LJA researchers cited contentions by Spanish-speaking NCO's, "who spent years in the Army" that they, alongside Black NCO's, received slower rates of promotions and educational opportunities than did their white counterparts. Here, the authors' declaration countered assumptions that English language acquisition and acculturation (ie longer duration in the Army) necessarily translated into parity between whites and non-whites.

[427] Ibid, 39.
[428] Ibid, 40.

Put another way, even when soldiers of color--Black, Latino, or "Other"--performed equivalently or met the same standards of qualification, including English, they were not privileged to equal treatment when it came to education, opportunities for advancement, or even material items (ie culturally appropriate PX items or meal availability). As the report noted, "In short, Spanish-speaking soldiers believe that Whites are getting a better deal in the Army than soldiers from Spanish-ethnic backgrounds."[429]

Contrary to federal efforts at consolidating Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latina/os into an identifiable pan-ethnic category, report authors alleged "it is probably a mistake to talk about the Spanish-ethnic soldier in the Army."[430] Noting differences reported between distinct Spanish-ethnic groups, they elaborated: "It is more appropriate to consider the experiences of Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans (Chicanos) separately since they report different kinds of problems as well as different numbers of men experiencing problems." On this point, the most salient missing feature of the study became glaringly apparent. The "Personal Data" entry form (see Appendix B) asked soldiers to identify themselves according to five designations: "(A) White, (B) Black, (C) Chicano/Mexican-American, (D) Puerto Rican, or (E) Other." Yet in differentiating between "Black" and "Puerto Rican" or "Other," LJA researchers failed to account for those Puerto Ricans, or "Others" (likely Panamanian, Cuban, or Dominican) who racially identified as Black.[431] With this erasure of Afro-Latinidad, the study's

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[429] Ibid, 43.
[430] Ibid, 40.
[431] Ibid, Appendix C, 1-2. Appropriate iterations of this terminology would be "Afro-Boricua", "Afro-Dominican" or "Afro-Panamanian." On Afro-Latinidad, see Agustín Laó-Montes, "Afro-Latinidades and the Diasporic Imaginary," *Nueva época,* Año 5, No. 17 (Marzo, 2005) 117-130.

discursive frame replicated essentialist and hegemonic nationalist, ethnic, and racial categories, omitting the historical and overlapping genealogical racial formations of Afro-Latinos. As Maritza Quiñones Rivera observes, "Afro-Puerto Ricans have to negotiate their blackness silently, while protecting their Puerto Ricanness, their common denominator, in an often antagonistic racial environment."[432] Throughout a "Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier," report authors repeatedly noted symmetries between Black and Puerto Rican responses: "Puerto Ricans tend to respond similarly to Blacks, more so than do Chicanos," and "positive feeling between the Puerto Ricans and Blacks comes through" but declined to critically examine how phenotypic characteristics, such as similar skin pigmentation or hair texture affected patterns of racial discrimination or shared cultural identity between Blacks and Afro-Latinos (namely Puerto Ricans).[433] For example, the study found that "difficulties with merchants in the civilian community are greatest for Puerto Rican and Black enlistees as compared to Chicano and White Enlistees," but made no discernible effort to understand how blackness inflected propensity for being subject to harassment or bigoted behavior.[434] A case in point occurred in March 1976, when Army Staff Sgt. Anthony Love-Gonzalez attempted to take his "dark-skinned" Puerto Rican wife to dinner at the Hotel Lenz in Fulda, Germany. Sgt. Love-Gonzalez and his wife were denied entry by a doorman, who subsequently

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[432] Maritza Quiñones Rivera, "From Trigueñita to Afro-Puerto Rican: Intersections of the Racialized, Gendered, and Sexualized Body in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Mainland," *Meridians.* Vol. 7, No. 1 (2006). 162-182. 163.
[433] Lawrence Johnson & Associates, "A Study of the Spanish-Ethnic Soldier: Attitudes, Problems, Needs." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1973), 40.
[434] Ibid, Table B-58, B-22.

permitted three German couples to enter the establishment.[435] That same year, taxi drivers in Stuttgart refused en masse to accept black and Puerto Rican soldiers as fares. Not surprisingly, half of Puerto Rican enlistees responded that they received more respect from Black soldiers, as opposed to only 21% of Chicano soldiers.[436]

Finally, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Other "Spanish-ethnic" soldiers agreed most in their diminished attitudes toward the Army. Though their reasons varied, the report noted:

> Spanish-ethnic enlisted men are not happy with the Army as it is today. In conversations with LJA Spanish-speaking researchers, they indicated that they hoped changes would occur in the way Army life is today. They believe that they are not treated as fairly as White and Black soldiers. Furthermore, they feel that difficulties are not of their own making, and that Spanish-speaking soldiers are doing a good job in the Army.[437]

In conversations with researchers, Spanish-ethnic soldiers relayed their concerns that the military should develop enhanced procedures for dealing with language difficulties. Echoing prior commentary about English-language aptitudes tests, at least one soldier mentioned entrance exams should be given in Spanish, better enabling Spanish-speaking soldiers to obtain more desirable job placements, while several soldiers remarked that English-language aptitude tests did not reflect their "true abilities."[438] Report authors concluded, somewhat alarmingly, that Army officials should more comprehensively foreground concerns by Spanish-ethnic soldiers, since they, "predicted confrontations between Spanish-speaking soldiers and soldiers of other ethnic groups if the situation

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[435] Craig R. Whitney, "Bias Against Black GI's Persists in West Germany." *New York Times*. March 29, 1976. 6.
[436] Ibid, Table B-74, B-38.
[437] Ibid, 42.
[438] Ibid.

does not improve. This suggests there may be dissent building among Spanish-ethnic soldiers in the Army today."[439] Dissent among its ranks was not something the Army could afford, particularly not when it was at a critical juncture in its move towards an All-Volunteer Force.

RACE, "QUALITY" AND THE SHIFT TO THE ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE (AVF)

For many Americans, the Armed Forces of the early 1970s had devolved into a decaying institution. The civic idealism of the past had been replaced with contentions that the military was fast becoming a depot for burnouts, social outcasts, and the poor. In popular culture, the clean-cut, smiling visage of World War II hero Audi Murphy had been supplanted by the "combat vet"—glassy eyed, frayed and drug addicted. Throughout the early 1970s, returning Vietnam War GIs were stigmatized in film and print as either physically impotent, hapless figures, enervated by too many years at war or as potentially psychotic, dangerously unhinged individuals capable of indiscriminate violence. Films such as *Blood of Ghastly Horror* (1972), *Welcome Home Soldier Boys* (1972) *The Stone Killer* (1973) and *The Crazies* (1973), among dozens of others, typified the "psycho-vet" genre popular during the era. [440]

Questions about the mental competency and moral character of new soldiers haunted debates leading up to and following enactment of the AVF on July 1, 1973. The general public and policy experts collectively weighed in on the merits and drawbacks of

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[439] Ibid.

[440] Jerry Lembcke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1998), 153-158.

a system reliant on persons seemingly less motivated by desire to serve their country, and more by economic benefit, with one columnist warning the Army would become a "mostly black, mostly poor 'mercenary force.'[441] In her study of the AVF's creation, historian Beth Bailey chronicles how these attitudes were portrayed in the mainstream press, which consistently depicted the new volunteer Army in a state of crisis. The *New York Times* bemoaned its "conspicuous shortcomings," suggesting a re-instatement of the draft just three months into its tenure.[442] ABC news ran a television special with the less than flattering title, "The American Army: A Shocking Case of Incompetency."[443] And in a report to the U.S. Naval Institute, former director of the Selective Service Curtis W. Tarr warned that the turn to an all-volunteer force would create a military overrepresented by African-Americans, and those in lower mental categories.[444] Offering a slightly more sympathetic analysis, Joseph A Califano Jr. a former White House aide to President Lyndon Johnson heavily criticized the Nixon administration's support for the AVF. In an op-ed piece to the *Washington Post*, he claimed "by design and incentive an all-volunteer army is structured to bring in the armed forces the poor and near poor."[445]

No matter what end of the political spectrum these claims came from, two central questions pervaded deliberations on the AVF. First, would a volunteer force—especially one increasingly comprised of women and racial minorities—have the necessary

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[441] Ernest Ferguson, "How to Avoid 'Mercenary' All-Volunteer Force" *Los Angeles Times*. Oct. 13, 1972, C7.
[442] Beth Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer Force* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). 88.
[443] Bailey,120.
[444] AP. "Ex Draft Chief Warns of All-Volunteer Force." *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1972. 5.
[445] Joseph A. Califano Jr., "A Costly Army of Volunteers." *The Washington Post*. March 22, 1973. A26.

attributes for the nation's defense? And second, would this system exploit racial and class inequalities? Tarr's and Califano's statements elucidate just how much race and class informed these considerations. According to Bailey, "every discussion of "quality" and the army was shadowed by assumptions about race."[446] Convictions that racial minorities, especially African Americans, underperformed mentally, lacked appropriate educational training, and were disinclined to tolerate authority preoccupied military planners who summated that they were not "quality" material. This was an especially disturbing prognosis, as the Army and military generally, experienced widespread acceleration in the number of African-American accessions. In 1974 alone, 30% of new army recruits were African-American.[447] Between 1971 and 1974, the number of black accessions within the Army rose from 14.3% to 19.9% in the Army and from 11.4% to 17.7% in the Marine Corps.[448]

The conversation around race and quality also mirrored larger anxieties about the military's shift toward the logic of the marketplace. As early as 1967, when conservative economists Milton Friedman and Walter Oi penned anti-draft articles in the *New Individualist Review*, a libertarian journal published by the University of Chicago, arguments for terminating the draft were framed by both free-market principles and ideologies of individual liberty. During his presidential campaign in 1968, Richard Nixon capitalized on both liberal, anti-war sentiments critical of the draft's inequitable effects

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[446] Bailey, 89.
[447] Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer*, 116.
[448] Charles C. Moskos and Morris Janowitz, "Racial Composition in the All Volunteer Force," *Armed Forces & Society* 1, no. 1 (November 1974): 111.

on racial minorities and conservative critiques of universal conscription as "a gross infringement on personal liberty."[449] Synthesizing both arguments, Nixon organized much of his political platform on a pledge to end conscription, assuring audiences that his plan for higher pay and increased military benefits would sufficiently attract enough candidates for enlistment. As Bailey notes, "Nixon offered Americans a case against the draft built on the conservative/libertarian claim that liberty is the most central of American values."[450] Nixon's solution, the market-driven all-volunteer force, mirrored wider cultural and ideological currents shaping the decade.

By the spring of 1973, the Vietnam War began gradually fading from public consciousness, but its narrative of loss and trauma endured as a capstone to the collective "miseries" permeating American life. Inflation from war spending, coupled with rising oil prices stemming from political turbulence in the Middle East resulted in "stagflation"--a crippling combination of high rates of inflation and economic stagnation. For the first time in four decades, American wages declined. Rising global economic integration yielded widespread deindustrialization as a new, "internationalized model of capitalism with emphasis on free trade, government deregulation, and entertainment and information industries" replaced the long-held Fordist model, which had dominated American political economy since the post-war era.[451] Unemployment, recession, oil shortages, and a depressed stock market only served to further erode already waning public confidence

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[449] Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer*, 23.
[450] Ibid.
[451] Thomas Borstelmann, *The 1970s: A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 123.

in national government; a decade-long trend cemented by the Watergate scandal and Nixon's resignation in August 1974. Generalized disaffection and rising mistrust of government fractured the New Deal liberal consensus underwriting expanded government during the post-war years. As more and more Americans experienced a "crisis of confidence" in their nation's leaders and the public sector, they retreated inward, turning towards an ethos of self-development, individual expression, and personal fulfillment, famously evoked by writer Tobias Wolfe's diagnosis of them as the "Me Generation."[452]

Anthropologist David Harvey identifies the early 1970s, a period of rapidly advancing globalization, as incubating neoliberal philosophy, or the emphasis on free-market ideology, individual rights, and personal responsibility.[453] In the years that followed, neoliberalism, with its attendant focus on self-affirmation, inflected and produced new modes of citizenship—neoliberal citizenship--predicated on one's ability to avail him/herself of market opportunities. Positive visions of citizenship became less about community engagement or collective uplift, but instead, increasingly connected to demonstration of individual enterprise and economic self-promotion. With greater frequency, this new domain of citizenship relied upon notions of self-discipline, personal uplift, and autonomously regulated behavior. The military, acutely aware that young Americans were self-fashioning new understandings of citizenship, responded by

[452] Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2002), 79.
[453] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005)

substituting traditional emphases on civic duty with the grammar of laissez-faire economics.

With the termination of the draft and unavoidable reality that larger shares of young, middle-class Americans were increasingly drawn towards college instead of military service, the USAF eschewed traditional recruiting models privileging ideas of citizenship bounded by obligation to country. Instead, military officials turned towards advertising, appealing to desires by youth for stable economic opportunity, travel, and skills training. Beginning in the early 1970s, the army "defined the market as a site of consumer desire, a sphere in which the emotional weight of individuals' hopes and dreams and fears was more powerful."[454] Accordingly, in April 1971, Army advertisers created the "Today's Army wants to join you" campaign, an inversion of artist James Montgomery Flagg's 1917 Uncle Sam poster, "I Want you for US Army."[455] Print advertisements, radio spots, and television commercials portrayed young men and women in casual attire, dressed in jeans and sneakers, sporting long hair or short Afros and contemplating the Army's nearly 300 occupations. As historian Jeremy Saucier notes, "these were not warriors carrying machine guns, but students, car enthusiasts, or secretaries."[456] In 1975, the Army introduced its "Join the People Who've Joined the Army" slogan reflecting Secretary of the Army Howard "Bo" Callaway's insistence on

[454] Bailey, *America's Army: Making the All-Volunteer*, 76.
[455] Jeremy Saucier, "Reconstructing Warriors: Myth, Meaning, and Multiculturalism in US Army Advertising after Vietnam," 2013, in *The Martial Imagination: Cultural Aspects of American Warfare*, ed. Jimmy L. Bryan Jr. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2013), 111.
[456] Ibid.

creating an "all-American army" reflecting the nation's racial and ethnic diversity.[457] This same campaign even showcased some of the Army's earliest attempts at Spanish-language advertising, as demonstrated in a February 1978 advertisement from *Readers Digest*. Titled "Desarrollo" (Development), the print advertisement highlights the personal experience of CPL David Shaul.

Figure 5: "Desarrollo" (Development) U.S. Army print advertisement. N.W. Ayers Advertising Agency Records. Collection No. 59, Box 4. Folder 4. Archives Center, Smithsonian National Museum of American History.

[457] Presidents Commission on an All-Volunteer Force, *The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1970). 149-150.

Beneath images of Cpl. Shaul completing basic training, taking orders, and playing pool with a racially diverse assembly of friends, the ad reads:

> Fui al Army con la idea de hacerme soldado. Pero no logré pensándolo solamente. Tuve que empeñarme y desarrollarme. Ha sido una verdadera experiencia de desarrollo. El Army me puso en condiciones mejorándome. Me puso en contacto con personas de todas clases; antes me había rodeado únicamente con gente muy parecida a mi. Me ayudaron grandemente mis superiores y yo trate de ser como ellos. Y ahora siendo cabo de patrulla me hago responsable de otros, algo que nunca había hecho antes. Y todo no es tan abrumador como pensaba.
>
> I went into the Army with the idea of becoming a soldier. But I was not thinking about achieving this alone. I had to persist and develop myself. It has been a real experience of development. The Army put me in conditions that improved me. It put me in contact with people from all classes; before I surrounded myself solely with people like myself. My superiors helped me greatly and I try to be like them. And now I am responsible for others in my patrol, something I never thought was possible before. And its not as overwhelming as I thought. [458]

Emphasizing personal development, self-fulfillment, and camaraderie (ie "people from all classes"), this print ad encapsulates the Army's shift towards emphasizing individual desires for advancement, while also underscoring the "diversity" of the "new Army." With uncertainty about the racial composition of the military still at the forefront of debates over the AVF, the Army's move towards this model of multicultural advertising, featuring racially inclusive images, distills the complex ways military officials responded to deep-seated divisions in American cultural life over the politics of race, war, and enduring social inequality. If the military historically benefited from images of "foxhole democracy" or the concept that in the heat of battle, "Pluribus became Unum" it now replicated and reinvigorated such discourse in its "Join the People" campaign. Implicit to

[458] N.W. Ayers Advertising Agency Records. Collection No. 59, Box 4. Folder 4. Archives Center, Smithsonian National Museum of American History.

the ad campaign's narrative, was the idea that individuals from varying racial and economic backgrounds could join the military and become "the people"—forging a sense of shared solidarity and national identity that historian Richard Slotkin calls the myth of American nationality, "the idealized self-image of a multiethnic, multiracial democracy hospitable to difference, but united by a common sense of national belonging."[459] To post-Vietnam American sensibilities, this new multicultural and racially inclusive army signaled an ideal representation that offered healing from the profound social divisions cleaving the American public in recent years.

"EL SOLDADO AMERICANO": NEOLIBERALISM AND EMBODYING THE AMERICAN DREAM

Amidst debates over race, quality, and the new peacetime military, issues of Latina/o test performance, Spanish language adherence, and discrimination receded to the margins of policy priorities. The complex configurations of race and cultural identity informing debates over the future of Latina/os in the military were largely jettisoned. To wit, very few of the 1972 Task Force's recommendations were actualized, except for adoption of pan-ethnic identifiers ("Spanish-descent" and "Hispanic"), increased Spanish-language advertising, and minimal expansion of the DRRI's Latina/o Studies curriculum. Still, Latina/os accounted for a gradually rising portion of the USAF, rising from 5.4 percent of total DoD personnel in 1974 to 6.3% by 1979.[460] To a greater degree

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[459] Richard Slotkin, "Unit Pride: Ethnic Platoons and the Myths of American Nationality," *American Literary History* 13, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 170.

[460] Beth J. Asch et al., *Military Enlistment of Hispanic Youth: Obstacles and Opportunities* (Washington, DC: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2009), 1.

than ever before, military authorities clung to discourses of equal representation, even when their actions were merely cosmetic.

In June 1975, members of the Latin American Federation of Europe, an organization comprised of fifteen service clubs representing Latina/o service members, lobbied for increased screenings of Spanish language films.[461] Following negotiations with the Army & Air Force Exchange Services (AAFES) spearheaded by Army Captain Tony Diaz, the AAFES agreed to showcase five Spanish language films in ten communities across Europe, beginning with the first two features, "El Senor Doctor" (1965) and "Les Tres Mosqueteras" (1942), both starring well-known Mexican comedian Cantinflas. Efforts to diversify Spanish language film availability in Europe were followed by the expansion of Spanish language films across military bases in the US.[462] Likewise, in September 1975 the AAFES began widening the scope of its Spanish language reading and music materials.[463] That September, following an informal inquiry of "Spanish surnamed customers," AAFES officials began the process of stocking more Spanish language materials, including magazines such as *Vanidades*, *Buenhogar, Selecciones*, *Mecánica Popular*, and *Luz* in bases exchanges at forty-two military

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[461] By summer 1975, nearly 20,000 soldiers of "Spanish descent" were stationed in Europe. "Hispanic GI's pressure Army to Back Spanish Lingo Films," *Variety*, September 3, 1975, 29.

[462] Subsequent film titles included: the horror movie "Todo Sangriento" (1974)", dramas such as "Los Pertureados" (1975) and "La Satanica" (1975), and the comedy "La Madrecita" (1975). Ibid.

[463] Music selection was divided into two categories: "Latin I—Puerto Ricans" and "Latin II-Mexican-Americans." Memorandum by Julian R. Price, "Spanish Magazines and Music," September 16, 1975, Domingo Nick Reyes Collection, Box 10, Folder 1. Benson Latin American Library Collection, Austin, TX.

installations in the US, Korea, Okinawa, Europe, Guam, the Philippines, and Taiwan.[464] While these measures accounted for a small, but significant impact towards improving quality of life issues for Latina/o military personnel, on the whole, they did not fundamentally alter more pressing matters related to discrimination, including English language aptitude tests, promotion & advancement, and interpersonal dynamics.

The military, echoing federal policy during the 1970s, instead turned toward the emerging ideal of "diversity," embracing racial and ethnic differences of groups like Latina/os as "a good to be valued—not a problem, but a promise."[465] This much was evident in *Soldiers* magazine's "Hispanic Americans Speak Up," a September 1975 feature article coinciding with national "Hispanic Heritage Week."[466] In its introduction, "Speak Up" reported on the challenges facing "Spanish Americans": "Ten million Hispanic Americans have the same social desires as all Americans. But, like the Black American, there are cultural problems. Highly visible surnames, accented English speech, cultural life style, and ethnic stereotyping all work against their economic and social progress."[467] Blaming delayed Hispanic economic and social advancement on their "highly visible surnames," "accented English speech" and "cultural life style," the passage invokes the "culture of poverty" perspective prominent within public policy and sociological debates on race reminiscent of the 1966 Moynihan Report. In it, "Hispanic Americans" are made racial analogues to "the Black American" and thus, according to proponents, prone to inhibitive

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[464] Ibid.
[465] Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great*, 68.
[466] SFC Floyd Harrison, "Hispanic Americans Speak Up" *Soldiers*, (September 1975), 23-27. The article employs "Hispanic Americans" and "Spanish Americans" interchangeably. 23.
[467] Harrison, "Hispanic Americans Speak Up," 23.

cultural tendencies preventing their full inclusion in US society. However, unlike the "Black American," the article, supplemented by a historical sidebar noting, "It all began with Columbus" treated Latina/o identity as evocative of earlier paradigms of immigrant assimilation, thereby assuring readers Latina/os held the capacity for incorporation into the military and nation at large.[468]

"Hispanic Americans Speak Up" was produced in conjunction with a roundtable sponsored by the DRRI, where five "Spanish Americans" weighed in on matters of racial discrimination, military sponsored English language proficiency programs, "culture shock" and the military's treatment of Hispanic personnel. Army Spc. Carmen Laboy, a native of Puerto Rico, joined fellow discussants, Peruvian SPC Jorge Mesa, Mexican American SPC Blanca Garcia, Puerto Rican Spc Gilbert Rivera, and Spanish American SPC Manuel Gonzalez sharing personal biographies meant to highlight a range of "Hispanic experiences" in the military. A self-described "typical North American" with blonde hair and blue eyes, Spc. Gonzalez of Fort McNair, Washington D.C. recounted the prejudice he endured in primary school: "When I first started school I noticed that because of my name, I was more or less shoved off into a corner. I looked like everyone else, but had a strange sounding name so they said, 'He's different.'"[469] Gonzales also recalled being referred to as a "dirty greaser" by his CO during basic training. On the subject of racial epithets such as "Greaser", "Minority" and "Disadvantaged" Laboy admitted, "It's only been since I joined the Army

[468] The sidebar, "It All Began with Columbus" recounts the history of Spanish exploration in the New World, before triumphantly concluding, "for more than 400 years Hispanic Americans have been leaving their mark on American society." Ibid, 27.
[469] Ibid, 24.

that I've even heard about them." Garcia, a native of Alice, TX, added she was not shocked by such terms, since "I didn't associate them with myself."[470] For his part, Mesa recalled being shocked by racial diversity in the US: "I wasn't aware until I got here that there were so many Blacks in America." On the presence of Native Americans, Mesa added, "I didn't believe there were any left. They had all been killed off by John Wayne and his gang." Finally, of the Army's ability to "recognize the needs of Hispanics" Laboy asserted, "We have to have people like us tell them what we need."[471]

The article's portrayal of Latina/o ethnic and national heterogeneity aligned with egalitarian impulses characterizing the reformist racial politics of the 1970s. Whereas the military historically relied on its narrative of racial integration during the Cold War era, by 1975, it shifted focus to emphasizing its capacity for respecting and maintaining ethno-racial difference amongst enlisted personnel; a move that consolidated the prior logic of democratic racial liberalism with on-going assertions of cultural nationalism by racial and ethnic minorities. However, the materialization of "Hispanic" as an identifiable, pan-ethnic category of classification adopted by the USAF and evident in articles like "Hispanic Americans Speak Up" elided the complex origins underwriting the term's very formation. Rather than attending to the structural inequalities propelling Latina/o participation in the military—inequalities of race, income, colonial legacies of dispossession and displacement—USAF officials camouflaged such critiques under the

[470] Ibid, 27.
[471] "Speak Up", 27.

sweep of multiculturalism, itself part of the emerging embrace of neoliberal philosophy in military recruitment and retention.

Conclusion

Imaginings of Latina/o military personnel as an ethno-cultural group ready and willing to avail themselves of military offerings, aligned with the neoliberal shift of the USAF. A fact embodied by the August 1977 cover of *Soldiers* magazine, featuring from left to right, SP4 Oscar Marroquin, 1st Sgt Gilberto Carrasco, and Sgt. Joel Garcia, all members of the US Army's D Company, 3rd Infantry.[472]

Figure 6: Cover of August 1977 issue of *Soldiers* magazine, "El Soldado Americano"

[472] SP5 Manuel Gomez, "El Soldado Americano." *Soldiers*. August 1977.

The cover accompanied an article titled, "El Soldado Americano," calling attention to Latina/o Spanish language difficulties in the Army, whilst also praising how "Latino soldiers proved themselves by fighting well with honor and distinction" in combat during World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.[473] As evinced by the Spanish language title, "Soldados Americanos" (American Soldiers) the article discursively cast Latina/o soldiers as ideal citizen-subjects because of, not in spite of their cultural hybridity. More importantly, by blending English and Spanish, the article reinforced the message that the Army was a unique institution, distinctly committed to racial and ethnic diversity. A place where American Latina/os, unencumbered by racist legacies, were ideologically "free" to pursue and embody the American Dream.

[473] Gomez, "El Soldado Americano", 32.

CHAPTER FOUR

Advertising Patriotism: The "Yo Soy El Army" Campaign, Neoliberal Citizenship, and Strategizing Latinidad [474]

Introduction

At least ten years before the U.S. entry into the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq from 2001-2011, Latina/os were attracting the attention of military officials who observed that their rapid demographic expansion over the last three decades made them the fastest growing pool of military-age people in the U.S.[475] For at least one top U.S. military official, the future of the U.S. military resides with this youth population, as he noted that "our nation's ability to fill ranks in the future will depend on our ability to successfully recruit Latinos."[476] In this chapter, I consider how the *Yo Soy El Army* (YSEA) /*I am the Army* campaign, a public relations recruiting initiative between the U.S. Army and the Latino-owned advertising firm the Cartel Group, represented the culmination of earlier years of research about the strategic utility of Latina/o cultural identity to the US Armed Forces. Throughout this chapter, I consider how the Cartel Group's deployment of "Barrio Anthropology ™" a branded research strategy that claims to offer insight about Latina/o cultural identity and values explicitly shaped the YSEA campaign by simultaneously mobilizing and muting Latina/o racial and cultural

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[474] Portions of this chapter were previously published as "Advertising Patriotism: The 'Yo Soy El Army' campaign and the politics of visibility for Latina/o youth" in *Journal of Latina/o Studies,* 13.2, Summer 2015, pp 245-268.

[475] Although the U.S. Army officially adopted the term *Hispanic* in 1973, I will use the term Latina/os to refer to both U.S. and foreign born populations from Spanish speaking countries and/or the Caribbean.

[476] Louis Caldera, "U.S. Army has plenty to offer youth." *The Los Angeles Times*. 4 June 1999: B7

difference. I argue that this strategic management of *Latinidad* must be understood in relation to a post 9-11 logic of mandated nationalism--the overt, urgent, and compensatory acts of national belonging, civic participation, and expressions of fidelity to the State performed by immigrants and communities of color who were cast as potential threats to the national body politic following the declaration of the "War on Terror." For U.S. born and immigrant Latina/os, the public's rising preoccupation with national security was complemented by an increase in anti-immigrant [read: anti-Latina/o] attitudes materializing in a spate of legislation criminalizing undocumented immigrants, escalations in deportation campaigns, efforts to revoke birthright citizenship, heightened racial profiling initiatives and a host of other punitive measures. Simultaneously, the U.S. military occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan inaugurated a renewed ethos of patriotic sentiment in American culture with special reverence towards the U.S. Armed Forces. The YSEA campaign developed then between the political exigencies of the post 9/11 security State, with its exclusionary impulses against non-citizens and racial minorities on the one hand and on the other, a cultural milieu lauding U.S. democratic liberalism as embodied by the military--a progressive, multicultural "social laboratory" of racial tolerance, economic possibility, and political inclusion.[477]

In what follows, I explore how the representational framework employed by the YSEA campaign relied on and was articulated via sentimentalized renderings of Latinidad emphasizing quaint, if generic cultural differences of language and notions of

[477] Charles Moskos and John S. Butler, *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1996).

"community" that also silenced the more complicated realities facing U.S. Latina/os, including economic dislocation, racial marginalization, and a coercive, if not overtly hostile political environment. In particular, I note that YSEA campaign made deliberate use of two interrelated, yet distinct tropes affirming U.S. Latina/os as culturally different, though nonetheless *allegiant* subjects: 1) an ideological and rhetorical coupling between U.S. military and Latina/o cultural values and 2) a visual repertoire foregrounding Latino males as archetypal citizen-soldiers. By examining the campaign's cultural frame, I expand on the concept of 'military institutional presence,' or the idea that propensity to enlist may be affected by exposure to and familiarity with the institution of the military.[478] Though this term frequently refers to proximity to military bases and/or likelihood of having a relative in the Armed Forces, it is useful for considering in terms of the broader recruiting environment for Latina/os.

The YSEA campaign appeared in multiple formats including television commercials, the Internet, billboards, print ads, and grassroots outreach events in Latina/o communities. When accounting for the increasingly pervasive presence of military recruiters in low income schools with large ethnic and racial minority populations, this symbolic and material presence of the military illustrates the multifaceted ways in which Latina/os are presented with messaging about appropriate [ie

[478] Meredith Kleycamp, "College, Jobs, or the Military?: Enlistment During Times of War." *Office of Population Research.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2005.

state-sponsored] and highly visible channels of social and economic advancement—a state of affairs I suggest comprises a "culture of conscription."[479]

Moreover, the ideas of honor, patriotism, and family as expressed through the YSEA continuously circumscribed conversations about the social and economic impetuses contributing to Latina/o enlistment. For example, low educational rates--a factor directly affecting inclination towards military enlistment--continues to be a dominant feature of the Latina/o youth demographic. According to a Pew Hispanic Report from 2003, Latina/o youth were more likely than other youth to drop out of high school. In 2000, 21% of Latina/o 16-19 year olds were high school dropouts compared to non-Latino whites at 8% and 12% for African-Americans. The report also found lower levels of high school completion and observed that Latina/o youth in this profile remained underemployed, with lower rates of college attendance and completion.[480] Though the issue of educational attainment rates and military enlistment is not the focus of this chapter, and indeed has been addressed by other scholars it nonetheless remains an important facet of understanding the campaign's wider influence and appeal.[481]

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[479] An important example includes the stipulation in the "No Child Left Behind" Act of 2001 requiring public schools that receive federal funds must permit military recruiters on school premises. Greg Johnson, "Enlisting Spanish to Recruit the Troops" *Los Angeles Times*. 14 March: 2001. C1. See also, Carl Campanile, "New Law Lets Army Get Info on High School Kids" *New York Post*, 17 July 2002: 22. Likewise, the failure of the DREAM Act, (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act), bipartisan federal legislation allowing undocumented students a path to citizenship, including provisions for military service, attest to how Latina/o youth are asked to negotiate and struggle for their own opportunities towards enfranchisement.

[480] Richard Fry, "Hispanic Youth Dropping out of U.S. Schools." *Pew Hispanic Report.* 12 June 2003.

[481] Jorge Mariscal, "Fighting the Poverty Draft: Protests Move to Recruiting Offices. *Counterpunch* 28 Jan. 2005.
< http://www.counterpunch.org/mariscal01282005.html> accessed April 24, 2008; see also, Catherine Lutz, "Who Joins the Military? A Look at Race, Class, and Immigration Status." *Journal of Political and Military Sociology.* 32 (2), 2008. 167-188.

Following insights by scholars of U.S. militarism and war, including David R. Segal, Michael Sherry, and Catherine Lutz, this chapter draws from Jorge Mariscal's call for a broader examination of "the unavoidable nexus between class, race, and the 'volunteer armed forces."[482] Though there has been nascent scholarship on the substantial role of Latina/o immigrant or "green card" soldiers in the Iraq War and the proliferation of JROTC programs in predominantly urban/ working-class neighborhoods, the role of ethnic commercial representation in military recruitment has received insufficient scholarly attention.[483] And although media scholars have long called attention to the relationship between communications industries and the military, including Herbert Schiller's early analyses of the military's partnership with the "communications machine" there remains a scholarly deficit on the role of military advertising and Latina/os.[484] Yet as demonstrated in the prior chapter, since the termination of the draft and shift to the All-Volunteer Force in 1973, the military has increasingly relied on strategic advertising campaigns emphasizing educational opportunities, job skills training, and personal development. These marketing tactics are especially pertinent to

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[482] David R. Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam: Citizenship and Military Manpower Policy* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989), Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: The United States since the 1930s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1995); Catherine Lutz, *Homefront: A Military City in the American 20th Century* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001; Jorge Mariscal, "The Poverty Draft: Do Military Recruiters Disproportionately target communities of color and the poor? *Sojourners Magazine.* 6 (36), 2007. 32.

[483] Hector Amaya, "Dying American or the Violence of Citizenship: Latinos in Iraq." *Latino Studies*, 5: 3-24, 2007; Pacleb, 2008); Jocelyn Pacleb, "Soldiering Green Card Immigrants: Containing United States Citizenship" in *A New Kind of Containment: The "War on Terror", Race, and Sexuality.*Eds. Carmen R. Lugo Lugo and Mary K. Bloodsworth-Lugo (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 2008). 135-148.

[484] Herbert Schiller, *Super-State: Readings in the Military Industrial Complex*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1970). 163.

understanding the growing proportion of Latina/os and other racial minority populations within the ranks over the last several decades and to whom these campaigns are increasingly directed at.

In the field of communications studies, media scholar Angaharad Valdivia has led the call for greater attention to the intersection between the study of U.S. Latina/os and the mass media, taking up a question that is key to my analysis of the Cartel Group--"how to determine what is Latina/o produced media and who is a Latina/o producer."[485] Likewise, communications scholar Mari Castaneda's work on Spanish language media has highlighted "the growing importance of Latina/o media in helping to shape the links between Latinidad, civil society, and the political economy of the Americas."[486] The YSEA campaign, with its hybridized English and Spanish tagline was a dynamic, integrated effort that bears further examination both for its symbolic import in representing a major U.S. institution, and for what it might say about future efforts at niche marketing to Latina/os. Drawing from anthropologist Arlene Dávila, I investigate the "active processes of production and consumption" that affect the "conceptualization of Latinos as a distinct group and the wider social and political implications of such representations."[487] One such implication is the role that ethnic marketing will play in subsequent military recruitment strategies directed at Latina/o youth. For example, Latina/o enlistment in the Army rose by 26 percent between 2001 and 2005, the years

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485 Angaharad Valdivia, *Latina/os in the Media.* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2010). 29.

486 Mari Castañeda, "The Importance of Spanish Language & Latino Media" in *Latina/o Communication Studies Today*. 51-68. (eds) Angaharad N. Valdivia. (New York: Peter Lang, 2005). 51.

487 Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc. The Making and Marketing of a People.* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001) 5.

during which the YSEA campaign was most active. Overall, Latina/o enlistment in all branches of the military increased by 18 percent.[488] In the first year of the campaign alone, Latina/os accounted for 13 percent of the Army's new enlistment contracts—an increase from 10.7 percent in 2000.[489] Although I do not make a *direct* correlation between the YSEA and the increase in Latina/o Army enlistment, I do contend that it offers a crucial point of analysis for investigating the role of ethnic marketing campaigns in contributing to Latina/o military enlistment.

"BARRIO ANTHROPOLOGY"

According to Jesus Ramirez, the executive vice president of the Cartel Group, "Our proprietary Barrio Anthropology(TM) approach gives us the ability to understand key motivators and cultural triggers" within the Latino community.[490] Consistent with this messaging was a Cartel spokesperson who claimed that this marketing and research strategy allows their team to "go deep into the neighborhoods and barrios" to better understand Latina/os, thereby generating culturally authentic, customized ad campaigns for the Hispanic market.[491] As Dávila's work on Latino/a advertising has demonstrated, "ethnic marketing responds to and reflects the fears and anxieties of mainstream society"

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[488] In hard numbers, the Latino population within the U.S. Army, increased from 31, 000 in 1991 to 50,000 in 2004. Jason K. Dempsey and Robert Shapiro, "The Army's Hispanic Future," *Armed Forces & Society.*35 (3) 2009:526-561. 555.

[489] "Yo Soy El Army." *Hispanic Market Weekly.* 15 January 2001. <http://www.hispanicmarketweekly.com> accessed October 16, 2010

[490] Hispanic PR Wire, "Dickies Awards Hispanic Ad Account to the Cartel Group" 9 February 2004. < http://hispanicprwire.com/en/dickies-awards-hispanic-ad-account-to-the-cartel-group/> accessed November 15, 2010.

[491] Deborah Davis, "Illegal Immigrants: Uncle Sam Wants You," *In These Times.* 25 July 2007. <http:www.inthesetimes.com/main/article/3271> accessed March 3, 2008.

via the discursive production, mediation, and circulation of cultural images and/or texts that "are more revealing of those who produce the representation than of those who are its subjects."[492] Given their location in San Antonio, TX –a city known for its large Latina/o population and status as "Military City U.S.A" because of its high proportion of military installations, the Cartel Group positioned themselves as cultural intermediaries uniquely suited to speak to and for the Latina/o populace on matters of the military.[493] In a 2002 interview, Ramirez discussed his firm's approach to "Hispanic marketing," validating Davila's point that Hispanic advertisers often conceive of themselves as "multicultural experts" and "corporate intellectuals."[494] Of Latinos, Ramirez remarked that they are:

> The last great consumer segment in the United States that is targetable, more homogenous than any other segment, yet more complicate d to understand than the general market, this is our domain, our market.[495]

Ramirez's claim that Latina/os constitute a homogenous group contradicts the complex, heterogeneous nature of the U.S. Latina/o population highlighted in chapters two and three, with respect to racial identification, class status, national origin, patterns of migration, generational longevity in the U.S., regional diversity, language preference, etc. Moreover, Latina/os Studies scholar Juan Flores has argued that the employment of this "demographic label" doubly commodifies Latina/os for those like Ramirez, who employ

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[492] Davila, *Latinos Inc,* 218.
[493] San Antonio is home to Lackland Air Force Base, Randolph Air Force Base, Fort Sam Houston, and Brook Army Medical Center. It is also home to the San Antonio Battalion, the most successful recruiting unit of the U.S. Army's 41 national recruiting battalions.
[494] Davila, *Latinos, Inc.* 57-58.
[495] Katherine Cooper, *The Role of Ethnic Advertising Agencies: A Talk with Cartel Creativo, Inc.* MA Report. (Austin: University of Texas, 2002). 28.

this pan-ethnic label as a "commercial utility…to buy' the Hispanic package" and also to "'sell' it."[496] In this process, Ramirez's assertion legitimates the notion that Latina/os are a singular entity (ie a "segment") and thus a commodity to be "targeted" or purchased--especially by the Armed Forces.

By alluding to scientific rationalism and technical methodologies, the Cartel's use of "barrio anthropology" reproduced systems of racial and class difference via its evocative use of the complex and contested metaphor of the "barrio". Spanish for "neighborhood" or "district", the term "barrio" reinforces the spatial, cultural, and linguistic separation between U.S. Latina/os and mainstream society, while also playing on notions of belonging and aspirational desires by immigrant and/or working class Latina/o communities. As noted by Pérez, Guridy, and Burgos Jr. "as a spatial formation, barrios emerge out of histories of segregation, marginalization, and exclusion-based race, class, ethnicity, and citizenship."[497] Further, the Cartel's invocation of "barrio" mirrored their spatialized language of "penetrating" the Latino/a market and/or the U.S Army respectively. In the words of Cartel CEO Varela Hudson, "when you look at the numbers, there should be a more significant *penetration* of Hispanics in the Army."[498] This discourse of "penetrating barrios" reinforced and capitalized on essentialist portrayals of hopelessly traditional, perpetually inassimilable Latina/o communities. In so doing, these depictions substituted their materio-structural "histories of segregation" with trite,

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496 William Flores and Rina Benmayor, *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997),186.

497 Introduction (Eds.) Gina M. Perez, Frank A. Guridy, and Adrian Burgos Jr. *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010). 3.

498 Greg Johnson, "Enlisting Spanish to Recruit the Troops"*Los Angeles Times*. 14 March 2001: C1.

stereotypically reductive imagery of quasi-American ethnics who simply needed the right cultural messaging to broker their entrance into U.S. institutions like the military. Likewise, rather than fully acknowledging the structural social and economic issues motivating Latina/o youth to enlist in the military, the Cartel Group insisted it was just a matter of cultural translation and access.

THE CRISIS IN RECRUITMENT AND THE *ARMY OF ONE*

Broadly speaking, the YSEA campaign arose from an extensive image overhaul during which the Army replaced its legendary two-decade old *Be All You Can Be* slogan, with its new motto, *Be An Army of One* in January 2001. The new slogan, accompanied by a slick logo with a white star trimmed in black and gold edging as well as a state of the art interactive website (www.goarmy.com), was designed to counter declining recruitment numbers, as the Army had failed to meet its recruitment goals for three of the previous five years.[499] According to Beth Bailey, this rebranding derived from the intersection of three reorganizing imperatives. The first, was the conviction by Army Chief of Staff Erick Shinsecki that the U.S Army needed to transform itself from within, promoting the role of individual soldiers. Second, Army Undersecretary Louis Caldera wanted to market the Army more broadly to the U.S. public to ensure long-term support and success. As Bailey notes, for Caldera this meant "it was time to run army recruiting like a Fortune 500 company and to invest in army marketing, media affairs, and public

[499] James Dao, "Ads Now Seek Recruits for An Army of One," *The New York Times.* 10 January 2001: A1

relations efforts."[500] Finally, amidst allegations it was experiencing a post-Cold War "crisis of identity" a renewed emphasis on a "warrior mentality" or combat ethos unique to soldiers surfaced in promotional literature and recruitment programs.[501]

The new logo, which was featured on sponsored items like the "America's Army" video game, official NASCAR racing team, professional bull-riding team, and various recruiting ephemera such as pens, T-shirts, keychains, baseball caps, bumper stickers, and even seat cushions was intended to counter youth perceptions that in joining the Army, they would become "nameless, faceless cogs in a military machine." [502] According to research conducted by Leo Burnett Worldwide, the advertising firm overseeing the $150 million campaign, younger generations were little impressed with a military ethos emphasizing teamwork, collectivism, and selflessness. While this sense of unit cohesion had been a hallmark of the Army in years past, younger generations or "Millenials" tended to view the military as dehumanizing, leaving insufficient time for a personal life and comprised largely of drudgery including "wading through the mud."[503] Both Caldera's application of market principles, including competitive contract bids between advertising agencies and the overall emphasis on individual autonomy as symbolized in the moniker "One" reflected a neoliberal ideology emphasizing individual freedoms, human dignity, and the ability of the market, or in this case, the military, to ensure these

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[500] Bailey, *America's Army,* 239.
[501] Bailey, *America's Army,* 234-235; 142.
[502] Dao, "Ads Now Seek Recruits"
[503] Richard Hilliard, "United States Army Recruiting Command—From Zero to Hero Status. *USAWC Strategy Research Project*. (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2003). 8.

values.[504] Moreover, they synthesized their system of "barrio anthropology" with an adoption of militarized language emphasizing "market penetration." As expressed in a 2001 article from United States Army Recruiting magazine discussing methods for improving "market penetration strategy" military recruiting employs an idiom of commerce.[505] A telling example occurred at the press conference announcing the launch of the YSEA campaign, during which then Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera remarked, "I think advertising is very important, and advertising works. You advertise, you increase your *sales."*[506] In this context, *sales* refers to the number of young people enlisting in the U.S. Armed Forces— a group of "consumers" who have figuratively "purchased" the Army's brand, where they could avail themselves of the military's offerings: pride, economic empowerment, educational advancement, and improved social standing. In contrast, at the press conference announcing the new campaign, Varela Hudson, the CEO of the Cartel Group, noted that the *Yo Soy El Army* campaign would account for "Hispanic cultural differences such as the need to fit in and be embraced."[507] Hudson's statement was a stark departure from the general tenor of campaign that underscored autonomy and self-reliance, in exchange for one that would emphasize peer acceptance and communalism amongst Latina/os.

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[504] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005). 5.
[505] Major Veronica Zsido, "The Hispanic Market," *Recruiter Journal: United States Army Recruiting Command.* June 2001. 53 (6). 6-7.
[506] Department of Defense, "Army Announces New Advertising Campaign." http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=866 10 January 2001.

[507] Joe Burlas, "Army Gets New Slogan, logo." ArmyLINKNews 2001. <http://www.pica.army.mil/voice/voice2001/010126/armyslogan.htm> accessed February 2008.

In addition to collaborating with the Cartel Group, Burnett subcontracted with Images U.S.A., an Atlanta-based advertising firm to market to the African-American community. These efforts included advertisements in *VIBE* magazine, a multi-city "Taking it to the Streets" tour, commercials on BET, and "The Source Campus Combat Tour", sponsored by the hip-hop magazine *The Source*, which visited five Northeastern college campuses with significant African-American student populations. While efforts toward recruiting Latina/os were undertaken because they are still underrepresented in the military, efforts toward African-Americans were meant to shore declining recruitment numbers.[508] As an example, the percentage of new recruits who were African American dropped from 20 percent in 2001 to 13 percent in 2006, although these numbers had been steadily declining since before the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq. These declining enlistment rates were first reported in the Youth Attitude Tracking Survey—a DoD annual study conducted between 1975 and 1999. Administered to 16-24 year olds, the reports collected data on propensity for military service, slogan recall, advertisement awareness, etc. Not surprisingly, the reports noted the strong relationship between the mounting educational success of African-American youth with lower enlistment rates, and conversely, the corollary between the low educational achievement of Latinos and increased military enlistment.[509]It is worth noting that African Americans have historically been *overrepresented* in the military as they constitute approximately 18

[508] Whitney Joiner, "The Army Be Thuggin' It" *Salon.com.* 2003.< http://www.salon.com/2003/10/17/army_4> 17 October. accessed November 15, 2010.
[509] Gregory W.Boller, and Tanja Blackstone, "A Critical Examination of the Navy's Advertising Strategy, Assessment Measures, and Practices." *Navy Personnel Research, Studies, & Technology*. August 2002.

percent of active duty personnel, but only 13 percent of the general population.[510] In spite of this long legacy of service, the declining numbers of African-American enlistees is frequently and explicitly invoked when discussing Latina/o military recruitment. With little exception, the precipitous rise in enlistment amongst Latina/o military personnel over the past decade is frequently juxtaposed to the declining numbers among African-Americans in both popular media accounts and academic writing.[511] As Dávila has argued, these comparisons between the U.S.'s two largest racial minority groups serves to distance and distinguish Latina/os as "model minorities" whose propensity for service, especially in times of war implicitly discredits African Americans. Moreover, as Shapiro and Dempsey's research suggests, the long term implication is that Latina/os will replace African Americans as the Army's second largest racial and ethnic group attesting to popular narratives that they are exceptionally patriotic, and more willing for self-sacrifice than their African-American counterparts.[512] Yet this description elides the longer historical arc behind targeted recruitment campaigns of Latina/os that began in the mid-1990's.

Long before the publication of the 2000 Census in which Latina/os surpassed African Americans as the U.S.'s largest racial minority group, military and political strategists at the DoD and the Pentagon had been tracking the explosive growth of the U.S. Latina/o population, as well as the large disparity between their demographic

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[510] Dempsey and Shapiro, "The Army's Hispanic Future," 555.
[511] Sarah Abbruzzese, "Iraq War Brings Drop in Black Enlistees," *The New York Times.* 22 August 2007: 12.
[512] Dempsey and Shapiro, "The Army's Hispanic Future," 528.

dominance and/or representation within the military.[513] In addition to funding high-level think tanks to research what accounted for this discrepancy, they also supported several strategic initiatives aimed at closing this gap. Spearheaded by U.S. Army Secretary Caldera, a first-generation Mexican-American from El Paso, TX, these plans included holding a 1999 city-wide summit in Los Angeles, during which Caldera focused attention on how the U.S. military could provide opportunities for Latina/o youth, citing their high re-enlistment rates and willingness to serve in combat arms units as evidence of a supposed natural fitness for service. Caldera also proposed re-evaluating entry-level criteria, noting that although Latinos had excessive high school dropout rates--roughly 40 percent in 1998-- those that completed GED's were just as accomplished in their duties as enlistees with high school diplomas.[514] Although Caldera continued to support high school graduation as a prerequisite for enlistment, even overseeing "Operation Graduation", a public relations project promoting high school completion, he nonetheless concurred with the Army's decision in late 1997 to begin accepting more equivalency certificate holders and/or night school graduates.[515] Significantly, Caldera partnered with Latina/o advocacy organizations such as the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) in calling for a reassessment of and ultimately revisions to the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) exam, remarking that it presented "cultural traps" making it

513 Heidi Sherman, "Military, Pentagon Lack for Latinos, Study Finds." *The Los Angeles Times.* 21 January 1999:18.

514 Shapiro & Dempsey, "Army's Hispanic Future," 558.

515 Ibid.

difficult for Latina/os to perform well enough on it to qualify for enlistment.[516] In this capacity, Cadlera was successful in addressing the biases of the ASVAB Latina/o military personnel had long highlighted and the subject of Chapter Three. Finally, the Army also funded a pilot project in ten cities in which it allowed up to 200 Latino candidates to attend intensive English language courses, so that they might retake Army qualification tests such as the ASVAB if they did not initially perform well enough on them to qualify for service. In sum, the YSEA campaign was the next logical phase in a series of both short and long-term programmatic steps taken to recruit Latina/os.

POST 9-11: THE PARADOX OF PATRIOTISM

As Ushias Zacharias adroitly notes, the post 9/11 "homogenized..monoculture of patriotism" delimited the terms by which communities of color were allowed (or disallowed) from participating in the widespread idiom of nationalism that touted "feel good" platitudes of color-blind unity, even as it authorized the targeting and regulation of those groups for violating permissive boundaries of cultural, racial, and linguistic difference.[517]As numerous scholars have documented, the post 9-11 political climate authorized by the "War on Terror" deployed extensive, multifaceted technologies of racial surveillance against predominantly South Asian, Arab-American, and Latina/o communities. This political climate sanctioned the round-up and detention of thousands of Arab, Arab-American, and Muslim men by federal immigration authorities under the

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[516] Peter Richter, "Military May Seek to Boost Latino Ranks," *The Los Angeles Times*. 30 April:1.
[517] Ushias Zacharias,"Legitimizing Empire: Racial and Gender Politics of the War on Terrorism." *Social Justice*, 30 (2). 2003. 23.

pretense of investigating visa violations, an action symbolic of the newfound urgency over policing the body-politic, both from within and outside of the nation's borders. Since the 9-11 terrorists had all legally entered the country, their subsequent actions provoked intense anxiety over immigration control. In popular culture and media, the presumption of governmental impotence at effectively preventing the entrance of the terrorists yoked itself to a separate discourse about undocumented immigration. Thus, media focus and political rhetoric colluded in a wholesale criminalization of foreign-born persons, conflating the status of undocumented immigrants with that of terrorists. As journalist Roberto Lovato noted, "the newly reconfigured national security culture that is wiring us for war' has merged the threat of 'bad' Latino and Latino/a immigrants with 'bad' Arabs through an 'Al-Qaedization of Latino identity."[518] While there is a widespread and popularly received notion that 9/11 "changed everything", systemic anti-immigrant sentiments, including a pernicious rise in nativism during the mid-1990's had been on the rise since before the attacks of September 11th. Yet the post 9/11 moment did accelerate long-standing policies of U.S. global dominance, military imperialism, and amplified State power.[519] For U.S. Latina/os, this was reflected in their heightened criminalized status and amplification of systemic racial profiling initiatives in states such as Arizona, Alabama, and Georgia, which invoked suspicions of citizenship as pretense for arrests, deportations, and surveillance. For the Cartel Group, and others invested in

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[518] Roberto Lovato, as quoted in Sunaina Maira, *Missing: Youth, Citizenship, and Empire after 9/11.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2009). 244.

[519] Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2004).

marketing Latinidad, this meant domesticating, and/or re-branding those qualities for which Latina/os were considered unforgivably foreign (ie stubborn ethnic and familial allegiance, natural predilection for violence, etc) as precisely those that made them ideal candidates for the military and more broadly, as model citizens for the nation.[520] This was especially true of the ubiquitous deployment of concepts of "honor" and "pride" throughout the YSEA campaign and omnipresent in references to Latina/o military service.

HONOR Y VALOR: THE VALUES AND HERITAGE OF MILITARY SERVICE

In a 2003 address at the Pentagon celebrating Hispanic Heritage Month, former Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld praised the role of Hispanic soldiers in the Iraq War, noting that Hispanic military personnel were helping to bring "liberty to the oppressed with their proven devotion to faith, the community, and the country."[521] Rumsfeld's quote testifies to a commonly expressed discourse that aligns Hispanic cultural values, accentuated by a love of country and family, with a unique aptitude for military service. As noted by Gina Pérez the "widely held sentiment about the distinctiveness of Latina/o patriotism is shared by prominent military officials and civic leaders, who regularly point to Latinos' loyalty and patriotism as models of American

[520] Gina M. Perez, "Hispanic Values, Military Values: Gender, Culture, and the Militarization of Latina/o Youth." *Beyond El Barrio: Everyday Life in Latina/o America*. Ed. Gina M. Perez, Frank A. Guridy, and Adrian Burgos Jr. (New York and London: New York University Press, 2010). 171.
[521] David Miles, "Rumsfeld Praises Contributions of Hispanic Americans" *American Foreign Press Service*. 17 September 2003. < http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle/aspx?id=28458/> accessed October 13, 2007.

citizenship."[522] This presumed congruence between Hispanic attitudes and the U.S. military not only appears extensively throughout YSEA print and television ads, but as demonstrated by Rumsfeld and a host of other governmental and military leaders, is frequently mobilized in political discourse. According to Army undersecretary Dr. Joseph Westphal, "The Hispanic community brings core values that are endemic in the Army culture - family, love of country, commitment to community, commitment to the nation, service to the nation and selfless sacrifice." This idea that the military facilitates personal development and achievement, while simultaneously locating these attributes in the home/family values instilled by Latina/o parents and communities was also regularly touted by Retired Brig. Gen. Bernardo Negrete-Maza, formerly of the Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) and a key consultant on the YSEA campaign. According to Negrete-Maza, a Cuban American émigré who often appeared in YSEA print ads alongside his mother, "the military structure is very similar to that of a typical Hispanic family. Respect for discipline, a strong sense of responsibility and bullet-proof loyalty."[523]

Notwithstanding statistics about their high re-enlistment rates and ability to complete boot camp in greater percentages than other racial groups, the conflation between Latina/o and military values is accompanied by narratives of their distinguished legacies of service in the military and during such conflicts as World War II and the Vietnam War. For example, an oft cited statistic that Mexican Americans have earned

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[522] Perez, "Hispanic Values, Military Values," 171.
[523] Jorge Gómez, "Hispanic recruitment increases in military," *The Dallas Morning News.* 11 July 2005.

more Medals of Honor than any other racial or ethnic group, emblematizes this legacy of service and is a reminder of the ways in which Latina/os have acted as vital contributors to the material, geographic, and social infrastructure of the U.S. military.[524] This legacy, sometimes colloquially referred to as the "Hispanic tradition" pays tribute to Latina/o distinguished service in warfare, celebrates their ideological "symmetry" with military values, and stands as unmitigated "proof" of their desire for assimilation. Likewise, this model of inclusion proceeds from and reiterates long-standing immigrant assimilation narratives as well as those citing military service as a historically critical site of acculturation for U.S. Latina/os.[525]

Launched just one day after the general campaign, the YSEA initiative made deliberate and extensive use of these narratives in a multimedia blitz of Spanish language television, radio, Internet, and print advertising. Commercial time was purchased for all major Spanish language networks including Univision, Galavision, Telemundo, Telefutura, and Fox en Espanol. The bulk of advertising focused on network television, which constituted 74% of the total media budget of $15 million allocated exclusively for Hispanic recruitment in FY01, followed by 24 percent for radio and one percent for the print market. Print advertisements appeared in local newspapers with significant Latina/o populations and several national magazines including *Teen En Espanol, People en Espanol, HISPANIC*, and *Super Onda* . Spanish key words were purchased on major search engines, supplemented by "Yo Soy El Army" links at *Yahoo en Espanol*, *Terra*,

[524] Mariscal, *Aztlan and Viet Nam*, 26.
[525] Kevin Meek, "Strength in Diversity," *The Army Times*. 20 November 2007. 54.

and *Univision* websites. According to the Cartel's creative director, Ed Segura, two fundamental concepts shaped the YSEA tagline: "That the Army is the most powerful force in the world thanks to each soldier and that each soldier is better because of the Army."[526]

Adhering to this formula, one of the first Spanish language ads to appear for the Army Reserve featured Spec. Carlos Perez, a second generation Mexican-American combat medic from Los Angeles, CA. In a thirty-second segment titled, "Earthquake", Perez is the central protagonist of a U.S. Army disaster relief dramatization, taking place in an unnamed Latin American country. With faint echoes of Spanish dialogue layered over grainy black and white images of distressed men in straw hats and flannel shirts unloading relief trucks, the commercial forwards to Perez who stands resolute in front of a medical tent with the unmistakable large Red Cross emblem just above his left shoulder. As Perez leans against the tent, his face smeared with grime and perspiration, he looks directly into the camera and describes the scenario: "You've been deployed to help establish order where a 7.5 has just leveled the city. You've come along a small boy in shock. You can lead him to a medical station or follow him into the darkness of the building." The audience is then presented with a frightened child standing in the doorway of an unstable building. As the child pleads, "Mi papa está adentro" (my father is inside), he takes a hold of Perez's forearm. The commercial then returns to Perez who confidently asks, "What would you do?" The commercial ends with the black and gold star insignia

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526 "Yo Soy El Army." *Hispanic Market Weekly.* 15 January 2001. <http://www.hispanicmarketweekly.com> accessed October 16, 2010.

of the revamped Army logo and a cut to the Army website, www.goarmy.com. "Earthquake" very clearly imparted notions of personal valor, humanitarian compassion, and skilled readiness the Army hoped to convey as part of its larger messaging about soldier character and propensity for self-sacrifice.

Yet "Earthquake's" fantasy sequence transmitted much more than idealistic imagery of military adventure and purpose. Because of its largely sympathetic tone and avoidance of depicting combat (the soldier's there on a humanitarian aid mission), the advertisement clearly distinguished between the benevolent, democratic U.S. military and its "corrupt, despotic, and distinctively Latin American counterpart" that enforced regimes of state violence and political suppression.[527] According to Hudson, the YSEA redressed negative cultural perceptions about the military for immigrant parents who, "grew up under Castro, Somoza, and others."[528] Moreover, its highly visible foregrounding of a Latino soldier coming to the rescue of a *family* also deliberately built on common tropes about Latina/o family orientation, traditionalism, and community obligation. The exchange between the hero and his young victim could be read as an instructive parable —one that capitalized on the expressive hopes of first and second generation Latina/o youth who could imaginatively rescue their families from social marginalization and economic deprivation via military service. The paternal overtones between the adult male and child appealed to masculinist, patriarchal sensibilities, casting the young, Latino man—often a figure of suspicion and contempt in mainstream U.S.

[527] Perez, "Hispanic Values, Military Values," 171.
[528] Ibid.

media that portrays Latino men as gangsters or macho thugs—in the role of protective savior, father figure, and role model. Further, this link between patriarchal responsibility and military service was mirrored in a series of web vignettes accompanying the "Earthquake" commercial. After viewing "Earthquake", viewers were encouraged to visit the Army website in which they could learn more about Spc. Perez in a series of short web episodes or "webisodes" with titles such as "Camaraderie" and "Outlook". Before clicking on the link to "Mentor", visitors can read a brief description: "Like father, like son. Carlos is proof that there are no weak links in the chain. From tough beginnings, Carlos will be the first to tell you he has become better than who he was." Perez's webisode then opens with a series of sepia toned images of soldier profiles, before freeze-framing onto Perez himself. In a close-up shot, Perez adds:

> My father served in Vietnam and I think his experience in the Army gave him an idea of how to raise us. I grew up in South Central L.A., so I guess its pretty hard for parents to keep your kids away from gangs and drugs. My dad, he was always strict with us..made us focus on school. I think that compared to other people in my neighborhood, in my area when I was growing up we came out pretty good.

Perez's interview establishes a generational link between his father's military service in Vietnam and his own decision to enlist, while also promoting the military as a site in which the value of discipline, as inculcated in the military and a desire for education ["focus on school"], transcend urban poverty and structural inequality, relayed as "tough beginnings" and "gangs and drugs." Like "Earthquake", two other commercials titled "Signs" and "Multitasking," focused on career and training opportunities in the Army

that could then be (ostensibly) translated into civilian jobs.[529] For example, in "Signs" viewers are presented with Army Reserve specialists Geraldo Colon, Jomarixa Toro, and Guillermo Rosario—who shift between their civilian identities as a petroleum plant operator, college student, and medical technician to Army fatigues where they are identified as a Telecommunications Operator, Cable Systems Installer, and Microwave Systems Operator respectively. As the scenes cut between Toro on a college campus and aboard a tank, a heavily Spanish accented male voice narrates:

> In the community, they are important people. In the Army Reserve, they are the backbone of the U.S. Army while they live at home, they train and serve in the Army reserve part time but fully committed. They found over 180 ways to succeed in the Army Reserve. Serve your country while living in your community.

As with "Earthquake", the messaging of "Signs" emphasized the correlation between military training, self-actualization, and the increased capacity for employment upon completion of service. Perez himself credits his military training with helping him to quickly land a position as an Emergency Medical Technician with a Los Angeles based ambulance service .

Significantly, Perez's commercial was filmed in both English and Spanish. According to spokespersons for Burnett, Perez was chosen for the ad because he "seemed to be a typical Latino volunteer", intimating that Perez's bilingual fluency was characteristic of the youth demographic the ad is targeting. As Hudson noted, "a third of

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[529] "We Want Latinos." *Hispanic Market Weekly*. 27 May 2002. < http://www.hispanicmarketweekly.com> Accessed October 16, 2010.

this population is recent immigrants, a third is bilingual and somewhat acculturated, and the remainder is acculturated."[530] Overall, the military's budget for Spanish language advertising increased by approximately $55 million between 2002-2006. However, the bilingual phrasing in which the word "Army" was substituted for the Spanish term *ejercito* (army) responded to the cross cultural sensibilities of Latina/o youth, who according to market research, are more likely to use the informal "Army" when referring generally to military service. As David Chitel, the CEO of LatCommunications Inc., notes "different branches of the military advertise mainly in English to appeal to the acculturated 2nd and 3rd generation Hispanics."[531] While the YSEA's use of Spanglish might entice Latina/o youth, it served the dual purpose of accommodating their Spanish language dominant parents who often wield considerable authority in their children's decision to enlist. When military officials buttressed the Cartel's signature "Barrio Anthropology ™" approach, with exhaustive research conducted by the consulting firm of McKinsey & Company, the RAND Corporation, and the "Yankelovich Hispanic Monitor," among others, they discovered that Latina/o youth were more likely to respond to approval by their families than financial incentives alone.[532]

The role that parents and other "influencers" such as extended family members, teachers, clergy, community leaders, and guidance counselors might perform in convincing youth to enlist in the military has certainly not been lost on recruiters. This

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[530] Gregory Johnson, "Enlisting Spanish to Recruit the Troops," *Los Angeles Times*. 14 March 2001: C1.
[531] Adam Andrwes, "Tapping into the $20 Billion Latino Youth Market," *Portada.* June, July, August 2007. 5: 26. < http://www.portada-online.com/html/services/Portada26.pdf>. accessed on November 15, 2010.
[532] Linda Bilmes, "Uncle Sam really wants Usted," *The Los Angeles Times*. 21 August 2005.

was especially the case in the early years of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, during which market research suggested that parents, especially mothers, would be the dominant obstacles to enlistment.[533] For example, six months into the YSEA campaign, bilingual direct mail pieces were sent to parents of prospective recruits "explaining how an Army enlistment could work for their children", followed by direct mail pieces a month later and generalized boxer cards sent into communities with large Latina/o populations.[534] While recruiters often court youth by treating them to meals at a favorite restaurant or perhaps a visit to the gym or movies together, they can just as likely be found having dinner with a potential recruit's family and/or chatting with parents on the phone. The ability to "establish rapport" was the number one skill outlined in a 2000 U.S. Army Recruiting Command (USAREC) pamphlet outlining the "five sales skills and five critical tasks" necessary for ensuring a "successful sale" or enlistment contract.[535] Recruiters like SSG Jose Diaz of the Miami East Recruiting Station observes that recruiting within Latina/o communities "becomes a major family event", noting that "most of the time, I not only have to sit down with the potential candidate, but also his parents, grandparents, uncles, and siblings."[536] Within the YSEA campaign, this meant offering respect to the role that Latina mothers play in shaping their children's decision to enlist. In addition to a slew of commercials featuring parents like Denora Borja, a working class Mexican-American mother from San Mateo, CA who is shown

[533] Beth Bailey, *America's Army,* 251.
[534] Zsido, "The Hispanic Market," 7.
[535] Michael Waclawski, "Recruiting a Quality Force for the 21st Century Army….Challenges and Opportunities,"*USAWC Strategy Research Project*. (Carlisle Barracks, PA U.S. Army War College, 2002). 9.
[536] Andrew Betancourt, Yo Soy El Army." *Soldiers.* August 2003. 37-39.

contemplating her daughter Alice's desire to enlist in the Army, print advertisements were especially directed towards parents.

MADRES, HIJOS, AND THE GENDER OF CITIZENSHIP

The television ad featuring Borja, however, stands as an exception to the general thrust of the YSEA campaignwhich predominantly featured young Latino men. Owing to classical definitions of liberalism, in which the abstract citizen of the state is always presumed as male, these efforts also explicitly drew on notions of the citizen-soldier, whose willingness to arm themselves in the service of the nation reflected the proper republican virtues necessary for citizenship.[537] According to Elliot Cohen,"one might argue that the concept of the citizen-soldier embraces military service as a rite of passage by which one both learns and *earns* citizenship."[538] In the following two ads, this express linking between citizenship and manhood is foregrounded in two ways. First, as with the ads featuring Negrete-Maza, there is an explicit gender pairing between Latino sons and their mothers. Second, these ads highlight the physicality and vigor of the Latino male body as an ideal protectors of the nation. While the embedded discourse of citizen-soldiery traditionally demanded that citizen warriors protect the female subjects of the nation, usually sweethearts or wives (or by extension, a feminized rendering of the nation), the YSEA ads suggest that Latino men in uniform are defending their mothers--in so doing, Latina mothers become the stand-ins for the nation itself. *This emphasis on*

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[537] Claire Snyder, *Citizen-Soldiers and Manly Warriors: Military Service and Gender in the Civic Republican Tradition.* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999).

[538] Elliot Cohen, *Citizens & Soldiers: The Dilemmas of Military Service* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985). 117.

Latina mothers draws sentimental reference to maternal sacrifice, immigrant desires for inclusion, and the purposefulness of military service and/or possible death as legitimated by the State. Moreover, it makes strong reference to the archetype of the "patriotic mother"—stoic, silent figures that quietly support the nation's war efforts even if it means the possibilities of their child's mortality.[539]

In a September 2003 advertisement from *Hispanic* magazine, the audience is presented with Sgt. Claudio Pacheco, a U.S. Army Operating Room Specialist as he is flanked by his parents on either side.

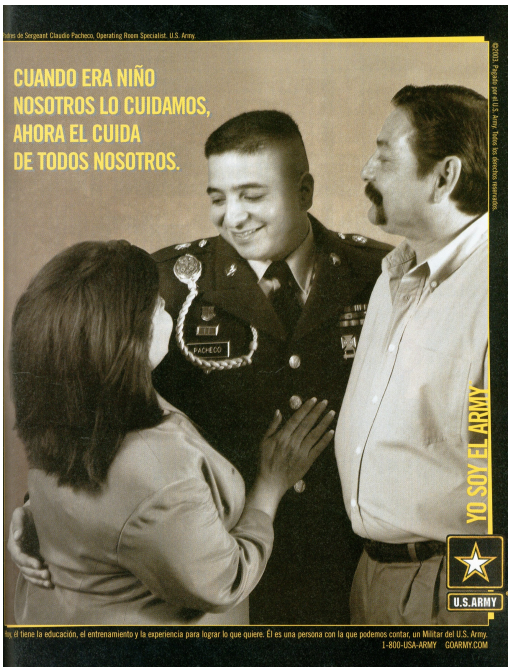

Figure 7 U.S. Army print advertisement, *HISPANIC*, September 2003.

[539] Karen Slattery and Ana Garner, "Mothers of Soldiers in Wartime: A National News Narrative." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*. 24 (5).2007. 429.

To his is right, his father proudly gazes down at his son, as Sgt. Pacheco beams glowingly at his mother, who stands just to his center-left. She does not face the camera, but rather, looks lovingly up at her son.[540] In a gesture of maternal warmth and affection, her right hand is strategically placed on his lower chest, just between his heart and *pansa* ("tummy"). This action may personify how Pacheco's mother has morally and spiritually nourished him. In the upper left hand corner of the advertisement, a statement in block white lettering reads, "Cuando era niño nostoros lo cuidamos, ahora el cuida de todos nosotros" (When he was little, we cared for him, now he cares for everyone). The *Yo Soy El Army* brand vertically runs along the left-hand side of the page. Along the bottom, in tiny white lettering, the ad states, "Hoy, él tiene la educación, el entranamiento y la experencia para lograr lo que quiere. El es una persona con la que podemos contar, un Militar del U.S. Army [Today, he has the education, training, and experience to achieve what he wants. He's a person we can count on in the U.S. Army]. [541]

Notwithstanding the obvious connotations with familial pride and honor, the ad is striking for its use of the first person tense, in which it is Pacheco's parents who speak to the audience-- presumably fellow Latina/o parents who might have misgivings about their children's future in the military. By presenting the text in the parent's voice, the ad registers an atmosphere of familiarity, in which Pacheco's parents can make claims to their son's achievements as their own, while assuring other parents that they too can produce such a "hero" by relinquishing their child to the military. In this dialectic,

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[540] U.S. Army, "Yo Soy El Army," advertisement, *Hispanic*, September 9, 2003.
[541] Ibid.

Pacheco's family convincingly urges other parents to have faith both in their child and in the military, trusting the values they've imbued them with will only be enhanced via service in the Armed Forces. This astute pairing of Sgt. Pacheco with his parents actively works to reinforce the discursive language of symbiosis between Latino "family values" and "military values."[542] Since none of the ad's participants look directly at the camera, the viewer is left to feel as if they are witnessing an intimate family moment—one that more closely resembles a family portrait than a recruitment ad. In so doing, the messaging is clear: Latina/o parents can symbolically offer their children in kinship to the U.S. Army.

Another advertisement from March 2006 showcases Spc. Antonio Martin Bryen scaling down the wall of an obstacle course [see Figure 8]. Dressed in full camouflage and gripping his rope steadfastly, Bryen peers off into the distance with a determined, single minded expression on his face. Above him, in block lettering the ad reads, "Usted le enseñó a no rendirese, aquí hacemos lo mismo (You taught him not to give up, here we do the same). Unlike the previous advertisement which imparted a warm, amicable feeling amongst parents and their child, this ad frontloaded the soldier's physical stamina and mental toughness as a corporeal reflection of his parent's values, guidance, and support. Below him, the ad reads:

> Usted les inculcó a sus hijos el valor de perservancia. Ahora, sus hijos, tienen la oportunidad de poner su character a prueba convirtiéndose en Militares del U.S. Army. En el Army, ellos tienen la oportunidad de desarrollar su Fortaleza, su character y sus habilidades en liderazgo gracias al entrenamiento y a los desafíos

[542] Perez, "Hispanic Values, Military Values," 171.

que enfrentarán. También adquirián experiencia práctica y entrenamiento en alta tecnología. Además, pueden calificar para recibir ayuda que pagará sus estudios. Si piensa que sus hijos están listos para supercar este reto, hable con ellos sobre lo que el Army les puede ofrecer.

[You taught your children the value of perseverance. Now your children have the opportunity to put their character to the test by becoming soldiers of the U.S. Army. In the Army, they have the opportunity to develop their strength, character, and leadership abilities thanks to the training and challenges they'll confront. Also, they'll acquire practical skills and high-tech training. Moreover, they can qualify to receive funding for school. If you think you're children are ready to surpass this challenge, talk to them about what the Army can offer]. [543]

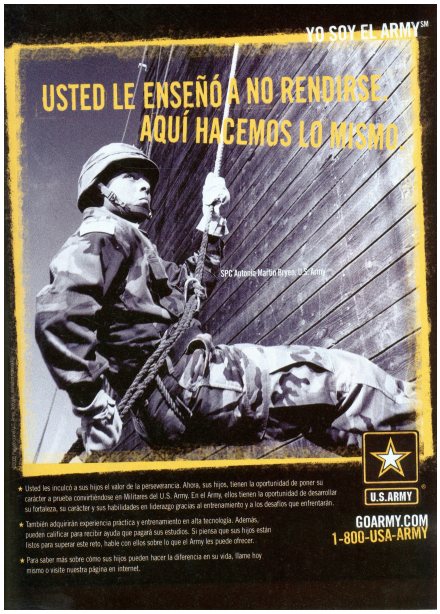

Figure 8 U.S. Army print advertisement, *HISPANIC,* March 2006.

Unlike the previous advertisements, this gritty depiction refused to mollify the more arduous aspects of Army life, including the potential for combat. Instead, it lauded individual strength, as a virtue inculcated by parents—one that could be best fostered in

[543] U.S. Army, "Yo Soy El Army," advertisement, *Hispanic*, March 4, 2006.

the Army via physical endurance challenges testing both the body and mind. While the emphasis on "confrontation", "perseverance", and putting "character to the test" might be principally aimed at stoking youthful bravura, the ad premises that the real challenge lies with compelling parents to speak to their children about enlistment in the Army.

A third advertisement titled "Dog Tags" that appeared in the spring issue of *Super Onda* magazine, was a slightly altered translation of its English language counterpart for an "Army of One." [see Figure 9]. Featuring a single pair of dog tags strewn against an olive canvas background, perhaps meant to imply a duffle bag or uniform, the ad's tagline reads: "Yo Tengo el Poder. Yo So El Army" (I have the Power/ I am the Army). These latter two ads, with their emphasis on bodily strength and the warrior ethos, recall Mariscal's concept of "warrior patriotism", in which Latino men exercise military service as a means of proving their sense of fidelity to *la patria* or their nation. In so doing, both of these ads frontload characteristics such as "bravery, courage, service, and precision" associated with the "idealized masculinity of soldiers."[544]

[544] Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). 81.

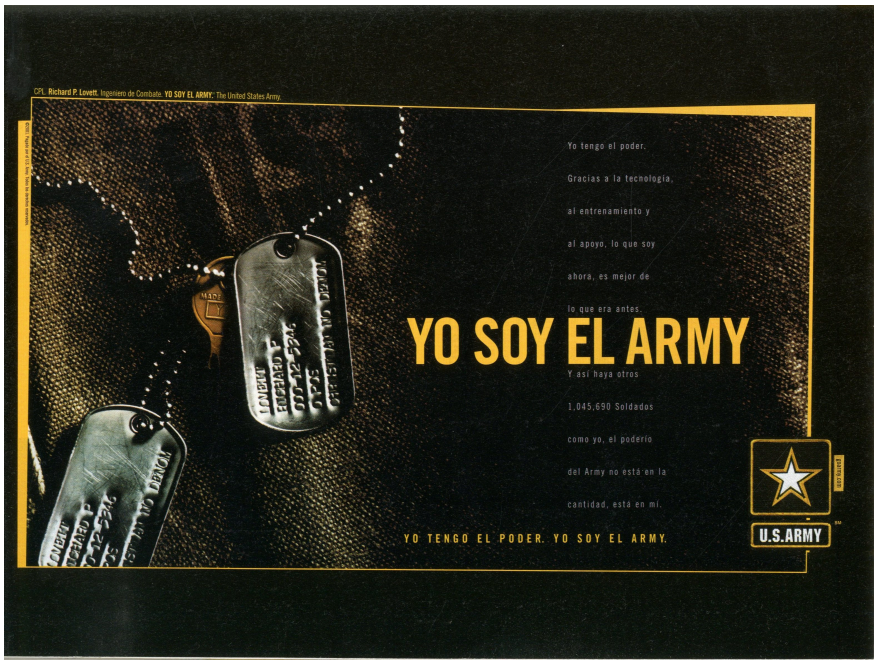

Figure 9 "Dog Tags" *Super Onda,* 2006.

In keeping with efforts to appeal to youthful vigor and enthusiasm, the YSEA also coordinated grassroots outreach events, presenting the Army as a hip and exciting institution for young Latinos. In 2004, the U.S. Army subcontracted with the San Diego based Latino Sports Marketing firm to create the "Hispanic H2 Tour," featuring a customized black and gold Hummer, referred to as a "mobile branded platform", outfitted with the YSEA logo beneath golden flames, featuring video games, recruitment videos on multiple screens, and speaker systems blaring Spanish language and Latina/o music [see Figure 10].[545] The H2 tour also sponsored push-up contests for the chance to win Army branded jerseys, trucker hats, and in some cases, customized dog tags. The Tour visited

[545] In 2004, the U.S. Army was also one of the largest sponsors of the *Lowrider* Magazine Evolution Tour, a traveling automotive show featuring customized cars, including the H2 Hummer.

Latino neighborhoods nationwide, often appearing at sporting events, county fairs, and car shows where Latino teenagers were likely to be present. For example, at the 2003 Calle Ocho festival in Miami, more than 40 recruiters manned three stations with flight simulators, basketball free-throw competitions and rock-wall climbing contests where they brought in close to 5,000 "leads" or potential recruits. According to the Latino Sports marketing firm, the national tour passed its "goal of qualified leads by 57%."

Figure 10 H2 Hummer, U.S. Army screensaver.

Conclusion

The insistent valorization of military service in public messaging to Latina/o youth shows no signs of abating, as their dominance among indices of demographic growth, financial hardship, and limited educational opportunities will continue to flag them as an ideal source of recruitment for the U.S military. Moreover, as is widely repeated in the media by Latina/o civil rights organizations, military leaders, and policy

analysts, Latina/os are underrepresented in the U.S. military comparable to their presence in the general population. Although they account for 16 percent of the 18-24 year old U.S. population, they comprised less than 10 percent of active duty forces.[546] If the success of the YSEA campaign is any indication, niche marketing towards Latina/os in the military will serve as a valuable asset toward closing this gap. That the different branches of the military should accurately reflect the racial composition of the U.S. is one championed repeatedly by military personnel, government officials, and even the general population. It is also the guiding imperative behind the U.S. Army's recruitment initiatives directed at Latina/os. In times of peace, this may constitute nothing more than a bureaucratic policy objective and/or important symbol of racial and ethnic egalitarianism in the U.S. However, the protracted wars in Afghanistan and Iraq added a decidedly insidious and tragic dimension to military recruitment. By some accounts, Latinos represent less than 5 percent of the officer corps of the U.S. military, but represented nearly 20 percent of combat troops in the Iraq War.[547] The fact that they continue to be disproportionately concentrated in lower ranked military occupations, including infantry positions where they are more likely to see combat, make this discrepancy in rank manifest in chilling terms. For example, during the initial phase of ground combat in Iraq, Latino/as accounted for 16 percent of all U.S. casualties in the war, though at the time, they made up only 9 percent of total enlisted personnel.[548] In the state of Texas, a region identified by the Department of Defense as a key recruiting

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[546] Linda Bilmes, "Uncle Sam really wants Usted" *The Los Angeles Times*. 21 August 2005
[547] Dempsey and Shapiro, "The Army's Hispanic Future," 528-529.
[548] Ibid, 557.

market and home to the Cartel Group, forty of the first 100 Texans killed in the Iraq War were Mexican-Americans. Put another way, their casualty rate was 18 percent higher than their overall population within the state.[549] Though U.S. troops were officially withdrawn from Iraq in December 2011, some continued to be deployed to Afghanistan until 2014, to say nothing of other potential sites of war and occupation in what some scholars have referred to as a "permanent landscape of war" commenced by the U.S.'s role in the Global War on Terror.

While the YSEA materialized out of a very particular socio-historical moment, catalyzed by the events of 9/11 and responding to calls for military representation, its implications are far reaching and have much to say about the ways in which Latina/os are differentially perceived, treated, and organized within public discourse. In addition to recognizing the significance of economic and social forces such as educational achievement and opportunities within the labor market, there should be a wider appreciation for the role that cultural producers like the Cartel Group have in shaping attitudes about the military.

[549] Latinos account for 30 percent of Texans in the military, but their casualty rates were 33 percent higher than those represented in service. Of those, 62.5 percent were concentrated in the lower enlisted ranks. T.A. Badger, "Hispanics Overrepresented among Texans killed in Iraq" Associated Press State & Local Wire 12 November 2004. http://web.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/universe.> accessed April 29, 2008.

Conclusion

"The great wars of this century are extraordinary not so much in the unprecedented scale on which they have permitted people to kill, as in the colossal numbers persuaded to lay down their lives…"~Benedict Anderson[550]

This dissertation began with a ghost story, and thus it will end with another set of ghosts that haunt this project and its research objectives. Their names are: Pfc. Francisco Martinez Flores, Cpl. Robert M. Rodriguez, Lance Cpl. Jesus Suarez del Solar, Sgt. Joe J. Garza, Sgt. Edward Anguiano, Lance Cpl. Juan Lopez Rangel, Cpl. Jesus Martin "Marty" Antonio Medellin, Sgt. Joseph Menusa, Pfc. Karina Lau, and they are only a few of the several hundred Latina/o soldiers who have died during the US-led campaign of the Global War on Terror.

The dissertation formally began in 2007 when I visited the Basilica of San Juan del Valle located in McAllen, TX-- a national shrine dedicated to Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos, located approximately seven miles from the US-Mexico border. While there, I encountered a set of memorial panels dedicated to military servicemen and women. The eleven acrylic glass panels with gilded frames featured hundreds of wallet sized photos of primarily Mexican-American or Latina/o armed service members, accompanied by handwritten notes, funeral notices, prayer cards, sonogram images, and prom photos. Many of these photos, supplemented by notes asking for the Virgen's protection of their loved ones, also made their way into the Cuarto de Milagros (Miracle

[550] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (New York: Verso. 1983). 144.

Room), alongside service uniforms, *trensas* (braids of human hair), and service medals. According to a Basilica spokesperson "there were just so many photos we had to do something with them."

The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan had entered their fourth year and with this new era known as the "War on Terror" came the familiar presence of Spanish surnames among the casualties listed on the nightly news. The fact that Latina/os historically and continue to be disproportionately concentrated in lower ranked military occupations, including infantry positions where they are more likely to see combat, brought an insidious dimension to the story of Latina/os during "Operation Iraqi Freedom."[551] In the state of Texas, a region identified by the Department of Defense as a key recruiting market, 40 of the first 100 Texans killed in the Iraq War were Mexican Americans. Put another way, their casualty rate was 18 percent higher than their overall population within the state. These included young people like Amancio Perez III and Ruben Valdez Jr., childhood friends from San Diego, TX who died eleven months apart.[552] Likewise, four of the first American coalition soldiers to die in OEF were non-citizen Latinos who were posthumously awarded citizenship.[553] Earlier in July 2002 former President George W.

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[551] Jason K Dempsey. and Robert Shapiro, "The Army's Hispanic Future." *Armed Forces & Society* 35(3): 2009. 526–561. 557.

[552] An army medic, Perez III was killed on May 28, 2003 in Taji, Iraq. Marine Lance Corporal Valdez Jr. was killed on April 17, 2004 in Al Anbar Province.

[553] Jose Angel Gutierrez, the first 'American' casualty of the war, died on March 21, 2003. Other non-citizens were killed during the following days, including Cpl. Jose Angel Garibay (from Mexico), Army Pfc. Diego Rincon (from Colombia), Staff Sgt. Riayan A. Tejeda (from the Dominican Republic), and Lance Cpl. Jesus Alberto Suarez (from Mexico).

Bush signed an executive order offering expedited citizenship to legal permanent residents (LPR status) who enlisted for military service.[554] Collectively, the narrative offered by the mainstream US press, members of Congress, Latina/o civil rights advocacy groups, and military leaders about Latina/o military service offered what media scholar Hector Amaya terms, "a metanarrative of nationalism" reinforcing the message that non-citizen Latinos demonstrate 'love' for their 'adopted country' by 'serving' the armed forces and 'sacrificing' or giving the *ultimate sacrifice* of their lives for our 'freedom' and for the 'nation'.

This language of service and sacrifice is not unique to Latina/o soldiers, but what I do find unique is the historical elision of the complexity of factors for which these Latina/o soldiers came to service—the discursive strategic erasure or distortion of their biographies that delimits broader narratives about migration brought on by global circuits of capitalism, imperial foreign policy practices in Latin America including US military intervention, and neo-colonial occupation of Puerto Rico, as well as domestic factors of poverty, restricted social and economic opportunities, geographic isolation, and social marginalization experienced by US Latina/o communities. Like Amaya and others, I saw a profound contradiction between the mobilization of this inclusionary, neoliberal model of citizenship, premised on notions of military sacrifice, fidelity, and patriotism, into what some have called the "Hispanic Tradition"–the long legacy of Hispanic military service, but also the idea that Hispanics have served with a unique form of patriotism and

[554] Congress further specified Bush's executive order in 2004. Elaborations stated that any legal resident who enlists may immediately petition for American citizenship rather than wait the five years normally required to start the process. Prior to the executive order, those in the military were required to wait three years before gaining citizenship.

heroism over and against the exclusionary impulses inaugurated by the "War on Terror." And certainly against the nativist measures that question the legitimacy and "Americaness" of Latina/o bodies—efforts to revoke birthright citizenship, a sharp increase in immigration raids, initiatives to ban ethnic studies, implementation of restrictive housing covenants, etc.

With this project, I have attempted to make my own small contributions to the fields of American Studies, U.S. Latina/o Studies, and Critical Race Theory. With American Studies, I have sought to make the case that studying the military matters and matters greatly. Although a vast body of American Studies scholarship concerns areas of US empire, militarism, and warfare, the explicit study of the US Armed Forces remains provincial at best. Yet if we are to understand how power operates, particularly the power of the State, then it would behoove us as scholars to study one of its primary institutions. As Foucault reminds us, systems of power relations are not as clearly demarcated between dominant and subordinate classes, the governed and non-governed. Power is constituted and/or mediated via a network of social relations dispersive in their reach, articulated via 'micro' or localized expressions.[555] In echoing Foucault' point that power is constituted via the practices, beliefs, and forms by which subjects come to "conduct their own conduct" much of my interest in post-Vietnam military policy was to understand which mechanisms, practices, and modes utilized by the military, could

[555] Michel Foucualt. *Discipine and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977. See also, David Couzens Hoy. *Foucault: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: UK, NY, NY: B. Blackwell., 1986). 134.

induce communities of color, namely Latina/os, to become disciplined as agents of dominant power relations.

Second, while I am indebted to recent historical scholarship within Mexican-American studies documenting the experiences of U.S. Latina/o soldiers within World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, this dissertation was largely motivated by the scholarly deficit on the post-1973 period. There is considerable work left to be in done in this area, but my hope is that I have contributed in some small part to a broader understanding of race relations, military service, and cultural identity formation during the post-Civil Rights era. As my research suggests, studies of these more recent decades are critical for understanding the heterogeneity of the US Latina/o diaspora, including post-1965 histories of Caribbean and Central American migration to the US.

Finally, I drew inspiration for this dissertation from historian Jake Kosek's observation that "The nation is.. embodied in individuals—athletes, cultural icons, and political leaders, among others… their success or failure is often linked implicitly to patriotic notions of the strength and well-being of the national character."[556] During war, the militarized body of the soldier assumes special meaning—what then of the soldier of color, or in this case, Latina/o soldiers? What meanings and understandings of identity, national or otherwise, are embodied through their service or from their sometimes exemplary moments of "selflessness"? What symbolic labor the does the militarized body of color perform? In tracing out the military's efforts to *martial* Latinidad, indeed, the

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556 Jake Kosek, *Understories: The Political Life of Forests in New Mexico* (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2006)150.

cultural and labor currency of a community long on the ideological and material periphery of the nation-state, I have attempted to demonstrate the ways in which the State manages the enduring "ghost" of race that haunts the American psyche and troubles its contradictory logics of national belonging. Given the long arc of the US propensity for war, the possibilities remain endless.

Appendix A

1. A knowledge of minority group history and the contributions of minority groups to the development of the United States and the armed forces;

2. A knowledge of selected psychological, social, and cultural factors relating to race to increase understanding of the social and behavioral dynamics related to intergroup tensions and conflict;

3. A knowledge of racial and ethnic group experiences in various communities to increase understanding of minority group culture and life-styles;

4. The opportunity to develop teaching techniques and group skills that will prepare the to lead discussions;

5. The opportunity to become aware of current DoD, service, and command equal opportunity of treatment, policies, and directives and their relationship to the need for maintain good order and discipline; and

6. The capability and judgment to work with commanding officers in determining the specific needs of a race relations group discussion program and how best to employ the DRRI resources within that command.

Glossary

ABMCR	Board of Corrections of Military Records
AFB	Air Force Base
AFQT	Armed Forces Qualification Test
ARI	US Army Research Institute for Behavior and Social Sciences
AVF	All-Volunteer Force
BPP	Black Panther Party
CCOSP	Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for the Spanish-Speaking
CO	Commanding Officer
DA	Department of the Army
DAV	Disabled American Veterans
DASD (CR)	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense—Civil Rights Division
DRRI	Defense Race Relations Institute
DEOMI	Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute
DLIELC	Defense Language Institute English Language Center
DoD	Department of Defense
DoDD	Department of Defense Directive
ELA	*Estado Libre Asociado*
EM	Enlisted Men's Club
EOA	Equal Opportunity Advisors
MACV	Military Assistance Command Vietnam
MILPERCEN	United State Army Military Personnel Center
MoH	Medal of Honor
MOS	Military Occupational Specialty
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NSM	New Standards Men
NVA	North Vietnamese Army
OEOP	Office of Equal Opportunities Program
OSD	Office of Secretary of Defense
POHT	Project 100,000
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
PX	Post Exchange (US Army base retail store)
RRI	Race Relations Instructor
RREP	Race Relations Education Program
SA	Secretary of the Army
SADB	Senior Army Review Board
USAF	United States Armed Forces
USIA	United States Information Agency
USAREC	United States Army Recruiting Command
USAREUR	United State Army Europe
USMC	United States Marine Corps.
WAC	Women's Army Corps.
WAVES	Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service
YLO	Young Lords Organization

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